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THE
AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

FOUNDED BY WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER

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VOLUME XXIV

OCTOBER, 1907—JULY, 1908

The University of Chicago Press
CHICAGO AND NEW YORK

Luzac & Co., London
Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig

Published
October, 1907, January, April, July, 1908

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
(CONTINUING HEBRAICA)

VOLUME XXIV OCTOBER, 1907 NUMBER 1

ASSYRIAN PRESCRIPTIONS FOR DISEASES OF THE HEAD

BY R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON,
The University of Chicago

The following translations are from my copies of the tablets of the Series Enuma amelu muḫḫu-šu išata ukal, 'when a man's brain contains fire,' published on Plates 23–50 of Part XXIII of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.* The first and second Tablets of this Series are fairly complete; parts of cols. I and II of the third are available from K. 2566, the duplicate K. 4023 being as yet unpublished; and there are extant about twenty-six lines of the fourth, from the colophon of which the existence of a fifth is proved by the first line, given, as usual, at the end. The contents of this series are more nearly connected with the profession of medicine than that of the priesthood, and the scope and language of the work is much the same as in the medical series published by Dr. Friedrich Küchler, in his scholarly work *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der assyrisch-babylonischen Medizin* (1904). Dr. Küchler is the first to make a systematic and scientific study of the medical texts proper, and by publishing three large texts (KK. 191, 716, and 61) on this subject he has cleared up the meanings of many hitherto doubtful or unintelligible words and phrases. As will be seen, many of the Assyrian words for drugs and such like, which he has discussed in his book, reappear in these texts, and I have been glad to avail myself of his renderings. In this number the transliteration of the first half of Tablet I is given, and the remainder with translations will follow in a succeeding number.

SERIES: ENUMA AMELU MUḪḪU-ŠU IŠATA UKAL

TABLET I

K. 2354+2412+2463+3237+7086+8800+8842.

Obverse

COLUMN I

1. Enuma amelu muḫḫu-šu išata u-kal SA.ZI SAK.KI irašši-ma ênâ^{II}-šu i-dak
2. ênâ^{II}-šu bir-ra-tu i-pi-tu i-ši-tu ḫar-ṭin-na gu-ḳa-na-a išakkana(a)
3. u dimta inadda(a) $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa siḫli pu-ṭu-uṭ ina ^{abnu}erî adi tašaḫal
4. SAK.KA.U.KAL ina libbi $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa teliḳḳi(ḳi) ina mê kasi talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar.

5. $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa ḳiṭ-ni-e $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa ḳimi lapti ina mê kasi talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

6. ḳiṭ-ni-e ḫar-tim ^{riḳḳu}kukri uḫuli ḳarnani ina šikari talâš(aš) *ditto*

7. ^{riḳḳu}murri ṭâbat EME.SAL.LIM mal-ma-liš tuballal ina ḫimeti RAT ênâ^{II}-šu . . . .

8. $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa siḫli $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa LA tinuri X šiḳli ṭâb(?) ḳa-an . . . . . .
9. ina mê kasi talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III [^{kam} la tapaṭṭar]

10. arki na-aṣ-ma-da-ti an-na-ti X šiḳli siḫli ša ka lik . . . . . .
11. ṭâbti ṭâbâti balu lupputi ina aḳali iṣ-ṣip-ma ikkal V šiḳli . . . .
12. ina kurunni tamaḫaṣ(aṣ)-ma išatti-šu . . . . . .

13. ûmu I^{kan} ^{ilu}Gibil . . . .

14. X šiḳli inbi ^{iṣu}BAR.ḪUŠ . . . .
15. taḫašal tašaḫal ina mê kasi [talâš] . . . . . .

16. ^{riḳḳu} . . . .

[*About twenty-four lines wanting*]

17. . . . .
18. . . . . *ditto.*

19. . . . . [ina mê kasi] talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma *ditto*

20. . . . . RAT MAR

21. . . . . RAT teliḳḳi(ḳi)

22. . . . . taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

23. . . . . . tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma *ditto*

24. . . . . . . dišpi šadi(i) ŠU.PA ḫurâṣi RAT MAR

25. . . . . tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

26. . . . . . . tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

27. . . . . . . dišpi RAT teliḳḳi(ḳi)

28. . . . . [tuzarrab](ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

29. . . . . [tuzarrab](ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

30. . . . . teliḳḳi(ḳi)

31. . . . . tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

32. . . . . taṣamid-ma *ditto* | 33 . . . . . RAT teliḳḳi(ḳi)

34. . . . . . taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

35. . . . . . talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

36. . . . . ina šizbi talaš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

37. . . . . dišpi RAT teliḳḳi(ḳi)

38. . . . . talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

39. . . . . talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

40. . . . . . . RAT MAR | 41 . . . . . ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

COLUMN II

1. ka[si $^{\text{karanu?}}$] bil-lu taḫašal tašaḫal ina šur-šum-mi šikari talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kan} la tapaṭṭar

2. zir [$^{\text{šammu}}$] lišan kalbi urḳit-su tu-pa-ṣa-a-šu ana $^{\text{karpatu}}$BUR.ZI tuṣaḫḫat(at) adi ṣîti tašakan(an)
3. . . . . i-tab-lu ina NI.IŠ.URUDU RAT MAR

4. $^{\text{šammu}}$ . . . ḪU.SI ša ib-ḫu lipi $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kanakti $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ṣuttuplali zir $^{\text{šammu}}$SI.DI.KA ṭâbat $^{\text{iṣu}}$bîni zir $^{\text{šammu}}$maštakal

5. . . . . ku ar $^{\text{iṣu}}$bîni ṭâbat EME.SAL.LIM $^{\text{šammu}}$nini $^{\text{šammu}}$TIN.TIR.MI ma-la ni-iš ênâ$^{\text{II}}$ ka-šu-ti
6. . . . -pa-as-sa RAT ênâ$^{\text{II}}$-šu ina uḫuli ḳarnani timissi(si) adi dimtu ipparrasu(su) te ki tu ma naṣmatti-ṣu teliḳḳi(ḳi) arki-šu
7. . . . BAR mê šuni tušabšal(šal) ana $^{\text{karpatu}}$KAN.SAR te-ṣip ina kakkabi ḳarabi ina še-rim ḳaḳḳad-su
8. tapašaš mê šuni tabašal naṣmadat ḳaḳḳadi-šu tu-kar-ra-ar ḳaḳḳad-su KUN U šarat pušikki takaṣar
9. . . šamni ana ḳaḳḳadi-šu tašapak ina biti ša ta-ra-nam išu(u) tušešib-šu ûmu III$^{\text{kan}}$ an-nam teppuš(uš)

10. [Enuma amelu . . .]-šu uḫammaṭ ṭiṭṭi gaṣṣi uḫuli ḳarnani IN.DAR kib-sit GIR.PAD.DA uḫuli ḳarnani šamni limni šaman nûni
11. . . tuballal ina išati ašagi ḳaḳḳad-su tu-ḳat-tar

12. [Enuma amelu] . . . išati irašši-ma ênâ$^{\text{II}}$-šu i-bar-ru-ra dami u-kal-la $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa siḫli taḫašal tašaḫal
13. [ina mê kasi] talâš(aš) ḳaḳḳad-su tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III$^{\text{kan}}$ la tapaṭṭar.

14. . . . . . $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa ḳimi ḫašli ina ṭabâti talâš(aš) ḳaḳḳad-su tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III$^{\text{kan}}$ la tapaṭṭar

15. . . . . . $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa $^{\text{šammu}}$ḪAB ina šizbi talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) *ditto.*

16. . . . . ina šizbi talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) *ditto*

17. . . . . ina šizbi talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) *ditto*

18. . . . . talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) *ditto*

19. . . . . $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$buraši $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri
20. . . . . tuzarrab(ab) *ditto*

21. . . . . . . li da u bat dir a bil . . . . NU LAḪ.ḪA
22. . . . -ra ešteniš(niš)taḫašal tašaḫal ina šikari u-sa tuballal . . . . . [taṣamid](id)

23. . . . . $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$buraši $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa . . . $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa $^{\text{iṣu}}$si-ḫu [RAT . . . . .]-nu
24. . . . . . ni ku . . . . . šikari u-sa tušabšal-ma ibaluṭ
25. . . . . . -ma-ti ina mê kasi talâš(aš) tuzarrab . . . .

26. . . . ir su šarat ḳaḳḳadi-šu izzaza(za) $^{\text{iṣu}}$ kukri . . . . . .
27. . . . . ina $^{\text{urudu}}$ŠUN.DU tu-ba-ḫar ḳaḳḳad-su . . . . .

28. . . . . ḫimeti ina išati tušabšal(šal) . . . . . .

29. . . . . . $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$murri šikari DI.DI ḫimeti ina išati tušabšal[(šal) . . . .

30. . . . . . kib-sit GIR.PAD.DU amelûti GIR.PAD.DU imeri(?) . . . . .
31. . . . . . ina išat ašagi ḳaḳḳad-su [tuḳaṭṭar]

32. . . . . GI I . NE. NI I . NE ḪE . . . . .
33. . . . . BI ḪE.EN . . . . .
34. . . . . DAN(?).NA MUL.LA . . . . . .

35. . . . . u zak kat . . . . .

36. . . . [šiptu annitu III-šu . . .] tamannu(nu) eli . . . . .

37. . . . . IḪ ME AZAG.GA . . . . . .
38. . . . . GE . GE . . . .

39. . . . . . KA ŠU NE . . . . | 40 . . . . . . ḳabli eli-šu tamannu . . . .
| 41. . . . . . . $^{\text{šammu}}$kur . . . 42 . . . . . ûmu III$^{\text{kan}}$ la [tapaṭṭar] |
43. . . . . [ina mê]kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid-su-ma . . . .

44. Enuma *ditto* ḳiṭ-[ni-e] . . . . [$^{\text{šammu}}$]su-pa-lam ina šikari ta-la-[aš] . . . .

45. Enuma *ditto* ḳit-ni-e . . . . . . ḳimi lapti ešteniš(niš) taḫašal tašaḫal ina $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ . . . . . .

46. Enuma *ditto* $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa ḳiṭ[ni-e] . . . . . . talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) . . .

47. Enuma *ditto* $\frac{1}{2}$ ḳa . . . . talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) . . .

48. Enuma *ditto* $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa . . . . tašaḫal taḫašal ina mê kasi talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) . .

49. Enuma *ditto* . . . . ina mê kasi talâš(aš) . . .

50. Enuma *ditto* . . . . . . ina šikari talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) . . . . .

51. . . . . . ina mê kasi talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) . . .

52. . . . . . ina mê kasi talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) . . .
53. . . . . . ina mê kasi talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) . . .
54. . . . . . ina šur-šum-mi šikari talâš(aš) tuzarrab . . .

55. . . . . . $^{\text{šammu}}$KUR ina mê kasi timissi(si) $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa $^{\text{iṣu}}$BAR.[ḪUŠ] . . . .
56. . . . . taḫašal tašaḫal ina mê kasi talâš(aš) ḳaḳḳad-su u irat-su taṣamid . . . .

57. Enuma [*ditto*] . . . . ḳimi ḫašli tuballal ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid(id)
58. Enuma [*ditto*] . . . . ḳimi ḫašli ina mê kasi ta-la-aš tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ûmu III^{kam} la tapaṭṭar
59. Enuma [*ditto*] . . . . ku II ḳa$^{ta\text{-}a\text{-}an}$ tuballal ina mê kasi u šikari talâš(aš) *ditto*

60. Enuma *ditto* . . su-pa-lu ina šaman BU.DI u mê kasi talâš(aš) *ditto*

61. Enuma amelu [ḳaḳḳad]-su uḫammaṭ ṭiṭṭi tuzarrab(ab) ḳimi AŠ.AN.NA ina mê kasi talâš(aš) ina ûmu XV^{kam} (*v.* ûmu V^{kam}) taṣamid

62. Enuma . . . TIG(?) UD.DA DI.DI taḫašal tašaḫal ina mê kasi talâš(aš) ûmu III^{kam} taṣamid
63. . . . ḳaḳḳadi-šu (*v.* ḳabal ḳaḳḳadi-šu) ^{šammu}ba-la(?) tu-uz-za-rib irṣiti ina mê kasi talâš(aš) ina šamni EŠ.MIŠ taṣamid

66. [Enuma] . . ḳaḳḳadi-šu ut-bi-i LA tinuri ḳimi ḫašli ina mê kasi talâš(aš) ḳaḳḳad-su taṣamid

THE FIRST CHAPTER OF EZRA IN ITS ORIGINAL FORM AND SETTING

By C. C. Torrey
Yale University

I have shown in a previous article (this *Journal*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 138 f.) that our canonical book of Ezra is a mutilated recension, made by cutting out the (interpolated) Story of the Three Youths *together with a part of the Chronicler's own narrative* which had been so firmly welded to it by a redactor as now to seem inseparable from it. I have also given (*ibid.*, pp. 190–96) a translation of the Story of the Three Youths in its primitive form, and also of the two small "patches" which were composed by the interpolator (pp. 197, 199); it now remains to restore this portion of the Chronicler's history to its original condition, printing it as it stood in the latter part of the third century B. C., before the story was interpolated.

The complete accomplishment of this task involves the retranslation, from Greek into Hebrew, of an extended passage which is now extant only in our "First Esdras." Such retranslations are rarely worth while, for they can never reproduce the exact wording of the original, and hardly ever give much real assistance in the cases where there is *no* Semitic text by which they can be controlled. The present case is peculiar, however, in that the Chronicler is the writer, and the matters with which he is dealing are nearly all such as he has dealt with repeatedly elsewhere. No other writer in all the Old Testament shows so little variation, in his choice of material and in his literary style, as the Chronicler; his mannerisms, stock phrases, lexical and grammatical peculiarities, and favorite subjects, are everywhere conspicuous and easily recognized. That is, we do have in this case original Semitic texts by which the translation can be controlled. Nearly everything which stands in this Greek fragment can be more or less easily paralleled from other parts of the Chronicler's work. When to this is added the fact that the Greek here is well preserved and its meaning nowhere obscure, while we know it to be in general a faithful rendering, it will be seen that a Hebrew text can be restored concerning which it is possible to feel some confidence that it everywhere stands near to what the Chronicler himself wrote. For this reason, and also for the sake of demonstrating in this most tangible way that I Esdr. 4:47*b*–56, 62—5:9 *is* a rendering from the Hebrew, and from the Hebrew of the Chronicler, I have undertaken the retranslation. Without this last step, my demonstration, as such, would be defective.

The portion of the Chronicler's history here printed and translated includes II Chron. 36:20, 21; Ezra 1:1–11; I Esdras 4:47*b*–56, 62, 63; 5:1–6; Ezra 2:1–3*a*. This all I believe to be the work of the Chronicler's own hand, written originally in this order, and substantially in the form here presented. Evidence of this, beyond what has already been given, will appear in the notes appended to the Hebrew text. There is no break in the narrative, nor does anything appear to be missing—unless possibly the subject of the verb in I Esdr. 4:62.

The proof of the Chronicler's authorship of the sections now extant only in I Esdr. is abundant and of every variety, including the constant emphasis laid upon those things which the Chronicler alone, of all O. T. writers, makes prominent; the recurrence of his favorite phrases, in just the forms which he habitually employs; the use of words and constructions found elsewhere only in his writings; and the plain traces of his unique style, seen even in this Greek disguise. Moreover, the manner in which this section fills the gap between the first two chapters of Ezra is proof of the strongest kind, as I have shown in detail elsewhere (*loc. cit.*, pp. 130–33).

I have made the extract begin at II Chron. 36:20, instead of vs. 22, for two reasons. In the first place, vs. 22 (= Ezra 1:1) contains a reference to the quotation in vs. 21, which ought therefore to be included, together with vs. 20, which introduces it. And in the second place, the end of II Chron. and the beginning of Ezra, originally written in one piece without any break, have never been printed continuously, so far as I know; and it is highly desirable that this portion of the Chronicler's history should for once appear in its primitive form. Most scholars now profess to believe that Ezra, chap. 1 was written by the Chronicler in continuation of II Chron., chap. 36, but in their mode of dealing with the two "books" they persistently deny the fact.[1] It very rarely happens that the same man writes a commentary on both Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, or even makes a careful study of *both* of these divisions of the history. The commentator on Ezra-Nehemiah finishes his work without troubling himself to examine I and II Chron., and vice versa—as though one should comment on half of the book of Ezekiel without closely examining the other half. The present misunderstanding of Ezr.-Neh. is due in no small measure to this traditional blunder of method. The occurrence of the passage Ezr. 1:1–3*a* in two places is recognized as the result of an arbitrary rearrangement of the history, made long after the Chronicler's day;[2] but one scholar after another treats the passage, in either place, as though he had a lingering feeling that it was actually written twice over by its author, or else, that it was "taken over" from one book into another. The climax, in this regard, seems to me to be reached by Kittel, in his edition of the Hebrew text of Chronicles for the *Polychrome Bible*, where he *prints this passage in light red* (the color used for sections "derived from passages preserved in our present O. T."!), thus obscuring as completely as possible the true state of the case. It will hardly be superfluous, therefore, to print the verses for once in their original context.[3]

---

[1] In Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift des A. T.*, the fact that the order of the Hebrew canon is followed is no sufficient excuse for printing Ezra *before* Chronicles.

[2] The verses in question were not, as the textbooks say, "added to the end of Chronicles" (as though the book had ever had another ending!). Whoever first cut off the Ezr.-Neh. portion made it begin at II Chron. 36:22 because with this verse Cyrus and the new era were introduced. Then, when the preceding portion of the history was also set apart as a book by itself, it was made to overlap the other by a few sentences; not "in order to provide for the book an auspicious ending," but *either* in order to preserve evidence of the fact that the two "books" were originally parts of the same whole, and that this was the point of their juncture, *or else* merely as the result of a copyist's carelessness. In the history of ancient literature there are some striking parallels of this latter kind. Thus Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, 1875, p. 200, speaking of the MS tradition of the works of Eusebius: "Wenn aber am Ende des ersten und zweiten Buches der *praep.* die langen Einleitungen zum zweiten und dritten Buche abgeschrieben, an erster Stelle sogar mitten im Satze abgebrochen werden, so wird man eine solche Plumpheit nicht Eusebios, sondern seinen Abschreibern zur Last legen. Sie ist aber in alle Handschriften eingedrungen, weil alle Abschriften eines Urcodex sind." The reason why II Chron. ends with the word ויעל, without finishing the sentence, may be either that this is the first possible stopping-place after the mention of Cyrus, or else that this word happened to end the line, or the page, in the manuscript which first made the separation.

[3] To illustrate further the current misinterpretation of the double occurrence of the two verses in question: Kittel, *Bücher der Chronik* (in Nowack's *Handkommentar*), p. 178, on II Chron. 36:22 f., writes: "Die Worte finden sich wörtlich auch als Anfang des kanon-

§ 6. DENUNCIATION OF THE LEADERS AND PROPHETS,
3:1–8

I 3:1 [ואמר]
שמעו־נא ראשי יעקב
וקציני בית ישראל
הלוא לכם לדעת את־המשפט׃
2a שנאי טוב ואהבי רָע

II 3 אשר אכלו שאר עמי
ועורם מעליהם הפשיטו
ואת־עצמתיהם פצחו ופרשו
כִּשְׁאֵר בסיר וכבשר בתוך־קלחת׃

III 4 אז יזעקו אל־יהוה
ולא יענה אותם
ויסתר פניו מהם
כאשר הרעו מעלליהם׃

IV 5 [כה אמר יהוה]
על־הנביאים המתעים את־עמי
הנשכים בשניהם וקראו שלום
ואשר לא־יתן על־פיהם
וקדשו עליו מלחמה׃

V 6 לכן לילה לכם מחזון
וַחֲשֵׁכָה לכם מקסם
ובאה השמש על־הנביאים
וקדר עליהם היום׃

VI 7 ובשו החזים
וחפרו הקסמים
ועטו על־שפם כלם
כי אין מענה אלהים

VII 8 ואולם אנכי מלאתי כח
ומשפט וגבורה
להגיד ליעקב פשעו
ולישראל חטאתו׃

This piece consists of three strophes dealing with the judges and princes, three devoted to the false prophets, and a closing strophe setting forth the speaker's own qualifications for the prophetic and judicial office. The climax of the doom upon both judges and prophets is the refusal of Yahweh to hear their cry (Strophes III and VI). In this arrangement vs. 2*b*, *c* is omitted as a variant of vs. 3; so Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti; Löhr omits all except גזלי, but supposes these lines were inserted to supply the place of the missing original. In vs. 4 בעת ההיא is superfluous in meter and in sense, being a mere repetition of אז at the beginning of the verse. The ואמר of vs. 1 and the introductory formula in vs. 5 are extraneous to their respective strophes. In vs. 8 omit את רוח יהוה, with Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti, *et al.* Löhr's arrangement of this section and the following, with the omission of vss. 5–8, in eight strophes of three lines each, a tetrameter followed by two trimeters, fails to recognize the symmetrical relations between vss. 1–4 and 5–8 and involves too drastic and arbitrary treatment of the Massoretic text. An inflexible meter of 4 + 3 + 3 for each strophe makes too great inroads upon textual integrity. The fact that Löhr's article did not reach me until after my manuscript was sent to the printer prevents more extended discussion here.

§ 7. THE DOOM OF JERUSALEM, 3: 9–12

I 9 שמעו־נא זאת ראשי בית יעקב
וקציני בית ישראל
המתעבים משפט
ואת כל־הישרה יעקשו:
10 בֹּנֵי ציון בדמים
וירושלים בעולה:

II 11 ראשיה בשחד ישפטו
וכהניה במחיר יורו
ונביאיה בכסף יקסמו
ועל־יהוה ישענו לאמר
הלוא יהוה בקרבנו
לא־תבוא עלינו רעה:

III 12 לכן בגללכם
ציון שדה תחרש
וירושלם עִיִּים תהיה
והר הבית לבָמַת יער׃

This is the first section in the genuine Micah material to depart from the norm of the four-line strophe. Marti finds that norm here also. But to organize strophes of four lines here is to separate things that belong together; the בני of vs. 10 clearly designates the persons already mentioned in vs. 9, and is inseparable from vs. 9. The three groups mentioned in vs. 11 belong together as the constituent elements of the class addressed in Strophe I; chiefs, priests, and prophets form the great triumvirate, from which the prophets may not be separated and considered by themselves.

The text of this portion is well preserved, requiring few emendations and no transpositions or excisions.

§ 8. AN IDEAL OF YAHWEH'S WORLD-DOMINION, 4:1–5

I 4:1 והיה באחרית הימים
יהיה הר בית־יהוה
נכון בראש ההרים
ונשא הוא מגבעות
ונהרו עליו עמים׃
2 והלכו גוים רבים ואמרו

II לכו ונעלה אל־הר־יהוה
ואל־בית אלהי יעקב
וירנו מדרכיו
ונלכה בארחתיו
כי מציון תצא תורה
ודבר יהוה מירושלם׃

III 3 ושפט בין־עמים רבים
והוכיח לגוים עצמים
וכתתו חרבתיהם לאתים

וחניתתיהם למזמרות
לא־ישאו גוי אל־גוי חרב
ולא־ילמדון עוד מלחמה׃

4 [וישבו איש תחת גפנו
ותחת תאנתו ואין מֹחריד
כי־פי יהוה צבאות דבר׃
5 כי כל־העמים ילכו
איש בשם אלהיו
ואנחנו נלך בשם־יהוה
אלהינו לעולם ועד׃]

The original material here stops with vs. 3. Practically all interpreters now concede the separation of vs. 5. Marti also eliminates vs. 4*c*. But in view of the absence of vs. 4 from the parallel passage in Isaiah, and of the further fact that it is composed of stock phrases which add nothing to the description in vss. 1–3, it seems justifiable to assign the whole of vs. 4 to editorial expansion;[1] עד־רחוק of vs. 3*b* is due to the same cause. The three six-line strophes of vss. 1–3 are logically distinct, and the progress of thought is clear: Strophe I states the fact that the temple of Yahweh is to become the rallying-point of the nations; Strophe II indicates the motive of the nations in coming; Strophe III describes the idyllic peace resulting from the world-wide acceptance of Yahweh and his law.

§ 9. THE DOOM OF EXILE AND A PROMISE OF RESTORATION, 4:6–10

I 9 עתה למה תריעי רע
המלך אין בך
אם יועצך אבד
כי־החזיקך חיל כיולדה׃

---

[1] This conclusion was reached in entire independence of the discussion by François Ladame, *Revue de théologie et de philosophie*, 1902, pp. 446 ff., in which the same decision is expressed.

II 10 חולי וגחי בת־ציון כיולדה
כי־עתה תצאי מקריה ושכנת בשדה
ובאת עד בבל שם תנצלי
שם יגאלך יהוה מכף איביך׃

III 6 ביום ההוא נאם־יהוה
אספה הצלעה
והנדחה אקבצה
ואשר הרעתי׃

IV 7 ושמתי את־הצלעה לשארית
וְהַנַּחֲלָה לגוי עצום
ומלך יהוה עליהם בהר ציון
מעתה ועד עולם

V 8 ואתה מגדל עדר
עפל בת ציון
עדיך תאתה הממשלה הראשנה
ובאה ממלכת בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

The prevailing measure of this section is trimeter, with sporadic dimeters and Strophe II falling into the dirge movement. In vs. 7*c* בהר ציון is metrically superfluous, and perhaps ought to be dropped as a marginal note; so Marti. Vss. 9–10 are placed before vss. 6–8 in response to the demands of the logical and chronological sense. The resulting movement of thought is clear and straightforward throughout the piece. There is no necessity to posit two authors or differing periods for the two sections, vss. 6–8 and 9, 10; but it may well be that they did not originally constitute one piece, for each section has a measure of completeness within itself. Textually the piece is well preserved; in vs. 8, however, it seems necessary to transpose ובאה with Nowack, both on account of meter and sense.

§ 10. THE TRIUMPH OF YAHWEH'S PEOPLE OVER ALL ITS FOES, 4:11–14

I 11 ועתה נאספו עליך
גוים רבים האמרים
תחנף ותחז בציון עינינו:
12 והמה לא־ידעו מחשבות־יהוה
ולא הבינו עצתו
כי־קבצם כעמיר גרנה:

II 13 קומי ודושי בת־ציון
כי־קרנך אשים ברזל
ופרסתיך אשים נחושה
והדקות עמים רבים
והחרמת ליהוה בצעם
וחילם לאדון כל־הארץ:

14 [עתה תגדדי בת־גדוד
מצור שָׂמוּ עלינו
בשבט יכו על־הלחי
את־שפט ישראל:]

Vs. 14 is added here merely for the sake of completeness. There is general agreement that it has no connection with vss. 11–13, but belongs elsewhere. Its closest connection is with 4:9, and it might possibly be placed at the head of that section as the opening strophe; but after all, it seems somewhat superfluous even there, and had better remain unattached. The two strophes of this section present each a phase of the situation which the prophet is depicting, and both together form a complete representation. The text of the passage is practically perfect.

§ 11. THE MESSIANIC KING, 5:1–3

5:1 ואתה בית אפרתה
הַצָּעִיר באלפי יהודה
ממך לי יצא

להיות מושל בישראל
ומוצאתיו מקדם מימי־עולם׃
3 ועמד ורעה בעז־יהוה
בגאון שם־יהוה אלהיו
כי־עתה יגדל עד־אפסי־ארץ׃

This eight-lined strophe is secured by omitting vs. 2 as a gloss interrupting the connection of vss. 1 and 3; so also Duhm (on Isa. 17:14), Wellhausen, Nowack, and Marti. In line 1 לחם is omitted as a gloss (cf. 𝔊); so also Roorda, Pont, Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oort, Marti, *et al.* In line 2 להיות is omitted as a dittograph from line 4. וישבו is dropped from the beginning of line 8 as a gloss made in view of vs. 2; it is also superfluous metrically. Verse 2 reads:

לכן יתנם עד־עת יולדה ילדה
ויתר אחיו ישובון על־בני ישראל׃

§ 12. JUDAH'S FUTURE PROTECTORS FROM ASSYRIA, 5:4, 5

4 והיה זה שלום מֵאַשׁוּר
כי יבא בארצנו
וכי ידרך בְּאַדְמָתֵנוּ
והקמנו עליו שבעה רעים
ושמנה נסיכי אדם׃
5 ורעו את־ארץ אשור בחרב
ואת־ארץ נמרוד בַּפְּתִיחָה
וְהִצִּילוּ מאשור
כי יבוא בארצנו
וכי ידרך בגבולנו׃

This ten-lined strophe is generally conceded to have no relationship to its immediate context. Reference to any recent commentary will furnish the facts necessary to substantiate the claim of this passage to logical independence. The only new textual element in this arrangement is in the reading מאשור which is attached to line 1, instead of being read with line 2 as a *casus pendens.* For שלום מן in the sense "protection from," see Zech. 8:10; Job 21:9. The sense thus secured furnishes a complete parallel between the three lines at the opening of the strophe and the three at the close.

§ 13. THE DIVINE EMERGENCE AND IRRESISTIBLE MIGHT OF THE REMNANT, 5:6–8

I 6 והיה שארית יעקב בַּגּוֹיִם
בקרב עמים רבים
כטל מאת יהוה
כרביבים עלי עשב
אשר לא־יקוה לאיש
ולא־ייחל לבני אדם׃

II 7 והיה שארית יעקב בגוים
בקרב עמים רבים
כאריה בבהמות יער
ככפיר בעדרי צאן
אשר אם עבר
ורמס וטרף ואין־מציל׃

III 8 תָּרֹם ידך על־צריך
וכל־איביך יכרתו׃

The connection of vs. 8 with vss. 6 and 7 is at the best very loose, even with the change of text from the precative to the declarative form of the verb. With vs. 9 connection is entirely lacking. The question must present itself as to whether vs. 8 is not a marginal note on vs. 7. The strophic structure supports an affirmative answer.

§ 14. ISRAEL'S PURIFICATION THROUGH CHASTISEMENT, 5:9–14

I 9 והיה ביום ההוא נאם־יהוה
והכרתי סוסיך מקרבך
והאבדתי מרכבתיך׃

10 והכרתי ערי ארצך
והרסתי כל מבצריך:

II 11 והכרתי כשפים מידך
ומעוננים לא יהיו־לך:
12 והכרתי פסיליך ומצבותיך מקרבך
ולא־תשתחוה עוד למעשה ידיך:

13 [ונתשתי אשיריך מקרבך
והשמדתי עריך:
14 ועשיתי באף ובחמה נקם
את־הגוים אשר לא שמעו:]

This piece consists of two four-line strophes, with an introductory prose line (vs. 9*a*), and two additional verses from the hands of redactors (vss. 13, 14). Wellhausen and Nowack have already set forth the grounds for athetizing vs. 14. It seems equally clear that vs. 13 must likewise be set aside; 13*b* as it stands is a weak repetition of vs. 10, and if the common correction to עצביך be made the case is not improved, for it then becomes superfluous after vs. 12; 13*a* is an editorial insertion of an additional detail in the description. The real climax and natural stopping-point of the piece is at the end of vs. 12; anything additional weakens the effect. Strophe I foretells the destruction of the munitions of war in which Israel puts confidence instead of trusting to Yahweh; Strophe II deals with idolatrous practices which likewise lead Israel away from Yahweh. The assonance of the piece is remarkable, notably in the repetitions of והכרתי and the pronominal suffix ךָ.

§15. YAHWEH'S CONTROVERSY WITH ISRAEL, 6:1–5

I 6:1 שמעו־נא את הַדָּבָר
אשר יהוה אמר
קום ריב אל־ההרים
ותשמענה הגבעות קולך:

II 2 שמעו הרים את־ריב יהוה
וְהַאֲזִינוּ מסדי ארץ
כי־ריב ליהוה עם־עמו
ועם ישראל יתוכח:

III 3 עמי מה־עשיתי לך
ומה הלאתיך ענה־בי:
4*a*, *b* כי העלתיך מארץ מצרים
ומבית עבדים פדיתיך

IV 5 עמי מה־יעץ בלק
ומה־ענה אתו בלעם
זכר־נא מן־השטים עד־הגלגל
למען דעת צדקות יהוה

In vs. 1*a* הדבר is added with 𝔊; so also Marti. Verse 4*c*[*] is eliminated as an editorial expansion of 4*b;* cf. Marti. The transfer of זכר־נא from vs. 5*a* to 5*c* renders 5*a* parallel in structure to the corresponding line of Strophe III, and also renders 5*c* susceptible of sensible interpretation. Nowack's omission (Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*) of מלך מואב in vs. 5*a* and בן־בעור in 5*b* is adopted for the sake of the meter.

§16. THE CONTENT OF TRUE RELIGION, 6:6–8

I 6 במה אקדם יהוה
אכף לאלהי מרום
האקדמנו בעולות
בעגלים בני שנה:

II 7 הירצה יהוה באלפי אילים
ברבבות נחלי שמן
האתן בכורי פשעי
פרי בטני חטאת נפשי:

---

[*] Viz. ואשלח לפניך את־משה אהרן ומרים

III 8 הגיד־לך אדם מה־טוב
ומה־יהוה דורש ממך
כי־אם־עשות משפט ואהבת חסד
והצנע לכת עם־אלהיך׃

This section lends itself readily to strophic analysis; no textual changes, transpositions, or omissions are necessary. The opening of the second strophe is marked by the change of subject, and the beginning of the third by the change from question to answer.

§17. THE SIN OF JERUSALEM AND THE PUNISHMENT TO COME, 6:9–16

I 9*a, c* קול יהוה לעיר יקרא
שמעו מטה וּמוֹעֵד הָעִיר׃
12*a, b* אשר עשיריה מלאו חמס
וישביה דברו שקר

II 10 הַאֶשֶּׁה בית־רשע אֹצָרוֹת
ואיפת רזון זעומה׃
11 הַאֲזַכֶּה במאזני רשע
ובכיס אבני מרמה׃

III 13*a* וגם־אני הֲהִלּוֹתִי הכותך
13*b*, 14*b* השמם על־חטאותיך וישחך בקרבך
14*c, d* ותסג ולא תפליט
ואשר תפלט לחרב אתן׃

IV 14*a* אתה תאכל ולא תשבע
15 אתה תזרע ולא תקצור
אתה תדרך־זית ולא־תסוך שמן
ותירוש ולא תשתה־יין׃

V 16 וַתִּשְׁמֹר חקות עמרי
וכל מעשה בית־אחאב
למען תתי אתך לשמה
וישביה לשרקה

Strophes I and II denounce the sins of Jerusalem; Strophes III and IV announce the consequent punishment; and Strophe V summarizes both sin and punishment. This arrangement is essentially that of Marti, though certain elements in it (viz., the elision of vs. 9*b* as a late gloss, the transposition of vs. 12*a*, *b* to follow vs. 9, and the transposition of vs. 14*a* to precede vs. 15*a*) had commended themselves to me before seeing Marti's treatment. In vs. 10*a* the final רשע is dropped as a dittograph. Verse 12*c* is a gloss on 12*b*. The transposition of vs. 14*a* leaves 14*b* to be joined to vs. 13*b*, and suggests some meaning for ישחך (or its original) parallel to הטאתיך; Marti's conjectural correction to אשר is not felicitous. The glosses, vs. 16*c*, ותלכו במעצותם, and 16*f*, וחרפת עַמִּים תשאו, are also omitted, with Marti.

§ 18. THE TOTAL CORRUPTION OF THE PEOPLE, 7:1–6

I 7:1 אללי־לי כי הייתי
כאספי־קיץ כעללת בציר
אין אשכול לאכל
בכורה אותה נפשי׃

II 2 אבד חסיד מן־הארץ
וישר באדם אין
כלם לדמים יארבו
איש את־אחיהו יצודו חרם׃

III 3 לְהָרַע כַּפֵּיהֶם הֵיטִיבוּ
השר שאל בשלום
והגדול דבר הות־נפשו
הוא . . . . ויעבתוה׃

IV 4 טובם כחדק
יְשָׁרָם כִּמְסוּכָה
יום פקדתָם באה
עתה תהיה מבוכתם׃

V 5 אל תאמינו ברע
אל תבטחו באלוךָ
משכבת חיקך
שמר פתחי פיך:

VI 6 כי־בן מנבל אב
בת קמה באמה
כלה בחמתה
איבי איש אנשי ביתו:

In this passage vs. 3 has become almost unintelligible according to MT; in 3*a* להרע is read with Marti and Nowack (in Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*); כפיהם is the reading of 𝔊𝔖𝔙; היטיבו is read with 𝔊𝔙, Bauer, Taylor, Wellhausen, Nowack, and Marti. In vs. 3*b* והשפט is omitted as a gloss upon השר; the renderings of the versions point in this direction; it is unnecessary to include the preposition ב in the gloss as do Marti and Nowack, for שאל ב is a good Hebrew idiom. The original reading of vs. 3*d* seems beyond recovery; Marti's והמשפט makes good sense, but is too remote from נפשו הוא. In vs. 4*c* מצפיך is omitted as a euphemistic gloss on פקדתם.

§ 19. THE DISCOMFITURE OF THE FOE, 7:7–10

I 8 אל־תשמחי איבתי לי
כי נפלתי קמתי
כי אשב בחשך
יהוה אור לי:

II 9 זעף יהוה אשא
כי חטאתי לו
עד־אשר יריב ריבי
ועשה משפטי

III יוציאני לאור
אראה בצדקתו:
10 ותרא איבתי
ותכסה בושה

IV האמרה אלי
איו יהוה אלהיך
עיני תראינה בה
עתה תהיה למרמס:

Verse 7 is a three-lined stanza which is omitted here as an interpolation designed to furnish a closer connection between vss. 1–6 and vss. 8–10. Its text runs:

ואני ביהוה אצפה
אוחילה לאלהי ישעי
ישמעני אלהי:

The dimeter movement is marked in vss. 8–10; the verses might be grouped into two tetrameter strophes, but both metrically and logically the present arrangement seems preferable. The words כמיט הוצות are omitted from vs. 10 as a gloss; so Marti and Nowack (in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*).

§ 20. THE IMMINENT RETURN OF THE EXILES AND THE VINDICATION OF YAHWEH, 7:11–13

11 יום הוא לבנות גדריך
הַיּוֹם ההוא ירחק־חק:
12 יום הוא ועדיך יָבוֹא
למני אשור וַעֲדֵי מצור
ולמני מצור ועד־נהר
וים מים והר מֵהָר:
13 והיתה הארץ לשממה
על־ישביה מפרי מעלליהם:

The general meaning of this eight-lined strophe is quite clear, and it is complete in itself. It seems therefore unnecessary to convert it into the first person throughout in order to make possible its connection with vss. 7–10, as do Marti and Nowack (but cf. Stade, *ZAW*, XXIII, 164 ff.). Such promises for the future are usually addressed to the community rather than uttered by the community itself. Connection with vss. 7–10 is, to be sure, impossible without the change of person; but is connection indispensable in such a collection of fragments as chaps. 6 and 7 seem to be?

§ 21. A PRAYER FOR YAHWEH'S INTERPOSITION IN ISRAEL'S BEHALF, 7:14–20

I 14 רעה עמך בשבטך צאן נחלתך
שכני לבדד יער בתוך כרמל
ירעו בשן וגלעד כימי עולם:
15 כימי צאתך מִמִּצְרַיִם הַרְאֵנוּ נפלאות:

II 16 יראו גוים ויבשו מכל גבורתם
ישימו יד על־פה אזניהם תחרשנה:
17 ילחכו עפר כנחש כזחלי ארץ
ירגזו ממסגרתיהם יפחדו ויראו ממך:

III 18a מי־אל כמוך נשא עון ועבר על־פשע
19b ותשליך במצלות ים כל חַטֹּאתֵינוּ:
20 תתן אמת ליעקב חסד לאברהם
אשר נשבעת לאבתינו מימי קדם:

The *Qinah* movement prevails throughout this final section; only three lines need pruning to bring them within the limits of the meter, viz. Strophe I, line 4, from which ארץ is excised, with 𝔊; Strophe II, line 4, from which אל יהוה אלהינו is removed as a gloss, with Nowack and Marti; and Strophe III, line 1, from which לשארית נחלתו is dropped as an editorial expansion, also with Nowack and Marti. Stade (*ZAW*, XXIII, 164 ff.), followed by Nowack and Marti, rightly recognized that vss. 18*b*, 19*a* interrupted the close connection between 18*a* and 19*b*, and that discovery is taken advantage of in this arrangement. But these dislodged fragments cannot legitimately be attached to vss. 11–13 as forming the conclusion of the passage, vss. 7–13. They are better treated as a parallel, or variant, to vss. 18*a*, 19*b*. The text runs as follows:

18*b* לא החזיק לעד אפו
כי חפץ חסד הוא:
19*a* ישוב ירחמנו יכבוש עונותינו

This isolated usage of כבש raises the question whether it may not be an error for כבס, which furnishes a good meaning here and an idiom familiar to all readers of the Old Testament (e. g., Ps. 51:4, 9; cf. Isa. 1:16; 4:4), though it is true that כבס itself never appears with a word for "sin" constituting the direct object as here.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
(CONTINUING HEBRAICA)

VOLUME XXIV APRIL, 1908 NUMBER 3

THE ARAMAIC PORTIONS OF EZRA

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I. THE CHARACTER OF THE "OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS" IN EZRA

Imbedded in the book of Ezra are what purport to be copies of a number of royal and other official communications relating to the Jews, dating from the Persian period. These are: (1) The decree of Cyrus; or more exactly, that part of the decree which announces the purpose of Yahwè, and encourages the Jews to return from Babylonia to Jerusalem; Ezr. 1:2–4. (2) The letter of Rehum and Shimshai to Artaxerxes Longimanus, urging him to stop the building of Jerusalem; 4:8–16. (3) The reply of the king, commanding that building operations be stopped; 4:17–22. (4) A letter from Palestinian officials to Darius Nothus,[1] complaining that the Jews are rebuilding their temple, and at the same time giving the king a concise history (quoted verbatim from the Jews themselves) of that most interesting building; 5:7–17. (5) The decree of Cyrus[2] in regard to the building of the temple in Jerusalem and the restoring of the vessels of gold and silver; 6:3–5. (6) A part (the beginning is missing) of the letter of Darius in reply to the Palestinian officials; 6:6–12. (7) A letter of Artaxerxes Mnemon[3] to Ezra, officially establishing the Mosaic law and ritual in Jerusalem and Judea, recognizing the temple in Jerusalem as the one legitimate seat of the worship of the God of Israel, and appointing Ezra as the religious head of Palestine with full powers; 7:12–26.

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[1] This means to say only, that according to the narrative which contains these letters the king by whose order the temple was completed was Darius II. See this *Journal*, XXIII, 178 f. I have never doubted that the "Darius" of Haggai and Zechariah was really Darius I.

[2] It is quite possible that the document is not complete in its present form. There is obviously a gap between verses 5 and 6, for the leap which is here made from the decree of Cyrus into the middle (!) of a letter of Darius cannot possibly have been made in the original narrative. See further below.

This is certainly a very remarkable collection of documents, especially remarkable when it is borne in mind that we are otherwise almost entirely destitute of Jewish historical traditions from the Persian period. Aside from the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, which are merely brief religious compositions, and the story of Nehemiah (which was hardly preserved as an official document, but rather as a popular narrative), we have scarcely even the semblance of historical standing ground.[4] We might expect that at least a list of the governors—Persian or Jewish—who were stationed in Jerusalem would have been handed down; but we have only the names Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel, and Nehemiah. The succession of the high priests is given us only by the Chronicler, probably derived from oral tradition;[5] Neh. 12:10 f., 22. As for the Jewish tradition with regard to the Persian Kings, it is a very significant fact that it places Darius Hystaspis (under the name "Darius the Mede") just before Cyrus, instead of after him. The comparison of Dan. 5:30; 6:1, 29; 9:1; 10:1; 11:1, with the succession of kings in Ezra: Cyrus, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, Darius, Artaxerxes, and again with the computation of the "seventy years" of the captivity

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[3] See the note above. The Aramaic papyrus fragments recently discovered in Egypt make it extremely probable (though not absolutely certain; see below) that the "Artaxerxes" mentioned in the book of Nehemiah is Artaxerxes Longimanus; but according to the clear and consistent statements of our narrative the king who appears in Ezr. 7 ff. and Neh. is Artaxerxes II.

[4] *The Chronicler's* stories of Ezra and Nehemiah, as I have already shown, have no more historical value than his stories of David and the ark. I shall return to this subject later.

[5] The Chronicler's allusion to a "book of the Chronicles" in Neh. 12:23 is no more to be taken seriously than are his allusions to the sixteen other books of his imaginary library (see the list in Driver's *Introduction*). There is not the least internal evidence that he had a written source before him in compiling these lists, while they all bear, both in matter and in form, the unmistakable stamp of his handiwork. I shall return to this subject later.

(48 years, remainder of Neo-Babylonian rule; +21 years, reign of Darius as Babylonian monarch; +1 year of Cyrus)[6] proves this in conclusive manner, as I have already shown.[7] It seems quite certain, in view of all this, that no extensive written traditions of the Persian period were preserved in Jerusalem. The latter half of the period, in particular, was a time full of events of great interest and importance for the history of the province of Judea and of the temple at Jerusalem; but no Jewish record of them has survived. Even such a momentous thing as the Samaritan schism is without mention in old Hebrew literature, excepting the (necessarily veiled) allusion by the Chronicler in Neh. 13:28 f.[8] The question of the trustworthiness of these documents in the book of Ezra is therefore one of very great importance.

1. The Prevailing View

Most writers on the Old Testament, in modern times, have regarded the Aramaic documents in Ezra—i. e., all of those mentioned above, with the exception of the edict of Cyrus in chap. 1—as genuine, or at least, as genuine in their original form. A few scholars, to be sure, expressed themselves decidedly against the authenticity of one or more of these writings, two or three decades ago; thus Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, II, 1875, pp. 87, 100, 128, declared them all forgeries; and Nöldeke, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1884, 1014, rendered a similar verdict in the case of the letter in Ezr. 7:12–26. In the years which followed it became customary, among the more "advanced" Old Testament scholars, to speak of these letters and decrees as more or less altered from their primitive wording, and therefore not fully trustworthy. Thus, the first editions of Cornill's *Einleitung* treat the Aramaic documents in Ezr., chaps. 4–6 as authentic, but say that 7:12–26 is "überarbeitet." Similarly Bleek-Wellhausen[3], Bertheau-Ryssel, *Comm.*, 1887, Kuenen, and others. Stade, *Geschichte*, thought that the letters might possibly have been composed by the author of the narrative in which they are imbedded, though he believed the information which they contain to be in the main trustworthy. In general, it has been a well-nigh universal custom to treat "the Aramaic source" or "the Aramaic history" as an important historical composition, even among those who look with suspicion on the documents which it contains. Thus Driver, *Introduction:* "[The Aramaic source] appears to have been a thoroughly trustworthy document, though the edicts contained in it, so far as their *form* is concerned, are open to the suspicion of having been coloured by their transmission through Jewish hands." In a word: 'The documents are not genuine, but in substance are thoroughly trustworthy!'[9] Van Hoonacker, 1892, maintained the authenticity of all these "records;" and so, doubtless, did the majority of his contemporaries who had studied the matter.

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[6] See this *Journal*, XXIII, 178 f.; XXIV, 29.

[7] In all probability, the Jewish tradition was not far wrong in its estimate of the length of the reign of this Darius. When he took the throne of Babylonia he was "about sixty-two years of age" (Dan. 6:1), and the theory of course supposed a previous reign over Media. In reality, the reign of Darius Hystaspis lasted 36 years; which would agree excellently with the Jewish estimate. Further evidence that this "Mede" was none other than Darius Hystaspis is furnished by Dan. 6:2 f., where this king is said to have reorganized the government of the empire, dividing it into satrapies, and providing for the royal supervision of these. Here is certainly a surviving tradition of the great reforms of Darius I, who did, indeed, accomplish this very work, soon after his accession to the throne.

[8] *Composition of Ezr.-Neh.*, p. 48.

Kosters, in his *Herstel*, 1893, while finding genuine portions in the Aramaic documents, rejected the most as a worthless fabrication.[10] Wellhausen, *Rückkehr der Juden*, 1895, declared all the Aramaic "Urkunden" worthless—but continued, and still continues, to use them for his *History*. In my own investigations, which were completed before I had seen the work of either Kosters or Wellhausen, I reached the conclusion that these Aramaic portions of Ezra are compositions exactly on a par with Dan., chaps. 1–6 and the book of Esther; and also, that the Artaxerxes letter in Ezra, chap. 7, is the work of the Chronicler alone. See my *Composition*, 1896. Professor H. P. Smith adopted nearly all my conclusions, incorporating them in his *Old Testament History*, 1903. In one point, however, his view differs widely from my own. In common with nearly all those who have discussed the book of Ezra in recent times, he assumes that the letters in 4:7–23 *are out of place in their present connection*, and belong rather to a time shortly before the work of Nehemiah (pp. 347 f.). This matter will be considered below. Smith seems to suggest, moreover, that our present book of Ezra could be improved not only by the excision of 4:7–24, but also by cutting out the whole group of documents (in chaps. 5 and 6) which purport to come from the time of Darius; a proceeding which would have the effect of reducing the whole "Aramaic Source" to three verses of narrative (5:1, 2; 6:15) *plus* the two letters (chap. 4) which according to his view are quite isolated, since he believes that a context for them can only be conjectured.[11] This certainly hacks the Gordian knot into bits.

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[9] The objections to this position are both obvious and decisive. In the first place, the "Aramaic source" contains *nothing but* these suspicious documents, and we have no right at all (in the absence of proof) to assume that it ever did contain more. And in the second place, when documents lie before us which in form do not appear to be authentic, whose statements we cannot control from any other source, and of whose author or authors we know nothing, beyond the fact that they obviously write with a "tendency," we cannot legitimately make use of them.

[10] Kosters' methods, however, were not thoroughly scientific, and his conclusions, in the main, were of little value.

The view prevailing among the most advanced scholars, then, for some time past, has been that these Aramaic documents are very valuable, though many have believed them to have been more or less altered from their original form by Jewish editors. Recently, however, the view has gained wide acceptance, especially in Germany, that we have here true copies of the original records themselves, the *ipsissima verba* of Persian "Urkunden und Aktenstücke." Thus Cornill, *Einleitung*^{5}, 1905, after designating the writings by the words just quoted, says that their "Echtheit" is "über jeden Zweifel erhoben;" and similarly, that the genuineness of the Artaxerxes letter to Ezra, in 7:12–26, is now "abschliessend bewiesen." Siegfried, *Kommentar*, declares the authenticity of these Aramaic transcripts to be "unwiderleglich nachgewiesen" (p. 7). So also Bertholet, *Commentar;* Guthe, *Polychrome Bible;* Budde, *Gesch. der althebr. Litteratur*, 1906, pp. 231 ff., and many others.

This increased confidence in the "genuineness" of the Ezra documents is due chiefly to E. Meyer's *Entstehung des Judenthums* (1896), in which, after setting forth quite fully—but superficially, as will appear—the arguments pro and con, the author reaches the conclusion that all the letters and edicts in the book, excepting only the Decree of Cyrus in chap. 1,[12] are authentic. Meyer's own opinion as to the fruit of his argument is expressed on p. 70: "Damit wäre, denke ich, nicht nur die Aechtheit der im Buche Ezra überlieferten aramäischen Dokumente gegen alle Einwände erwiesen, sondern mehrfach auch ein klarer Einblick in die Bedeutung dieser für die jüdische wie für die persische Geschichte unschätzbaren Urkunden gewonnen." To this claim the most of those Old Testament scholars who have written on the book of Ezra during the past decade have seemed to give assent.

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[11] He remarks (p. 351): "It is clear that if the whole account were stricken out we should have a perfectly good connection, 5:2 being continued directly by 6:15." But by this reasoning we could eliminate nearly every formal document that was ever incorporated in a history. Of course, when the main narrative is resumed the connection is resumed! It is this same illogical argument that Wellhausen uses in regard to I Macc., chaps. 8 and 15, in order to get rid of the episodes and documents which he finds inconvenient.

But I do not believe that any thorough and unbiased student of the Old Testament who subjects Meyer's argument to a really critical examination, taking into account the important factors which he has left out of account, will be able to accept his conclusions.

2. *A Literary Habit of Ancient Narrators*

Some of the principles and general truths uttered by Meyer at the outset are of very doubtful value. At the foot of p. 2, in the Introduction, he says, alluding to a remark of Stade's to the effect that the Jewish writer might himself have composed the letters and decrees which he incorporated: "Die 'bekannten Gewohnheiten alter Schriftsteller,' welche dafür sprechen sollen, dass diese Urkunden Erfindungen des Schriftstellers seien, sind mir gänzlich unbekannt. Die Alten haben den Wortlaut wichtiger Urkunden in ihre Texte genau ebenso aufgenommen wie die neueren Historiker." If this last sentence means to say, that some ancient narrators introduced some genuine documents into their narratives, it is superfluous information; if it means that the formal documents included in ancient Jewish narratives and histories are usually genuine, it is not true. And it *is* true—as will presently appear—that some of the best early (including Jewish) historians of whom we have knowledge invented "official documents," with purely literary purpose, in a way that would not be tolerated in a serious historical work of the present day. The substitution of "Historiker" for "Schriftsteller" looks a little like begging the question, moreover, since not every writer of stories—even stories which contain correct and perhaps valuable historical data—deserves the title "historian." We should hardly give this name, for instance, to the authors of Daniel, Esther, and III Maccabees. One of the things which we especially wish to find out is, whether the writer of these few pages of Aramaic embodying the records in question is entitled to it.

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[12] Why he should except this as he does (*Entstehung*, p. 49) is not at all clear. Every single phrase in it is cut out of the very same cloth as is the phraseology of the documents which follow. It does not contain a sentence or an idea which is not exactly paralleled in chaps. 6 and 7, saving only that at the beginning Cyrus compliments the God of the Jews by identifying him with the chief of his own gods. But this last-mentioned fact would be only a matter of course to Professor Meyer, as may be seen from his own words (p. 64): "Seit wir wissen, wie Kambyses und Darius in den ägyptischen Inschriften als treue Diener der einheimischen Götter auftreten, wie Kyros in seiner Proklamation an die Babylonier sich als den eifrigsten Verehrer und den erklärten Liebling des Marduk einführt, dürfte niemand daran Anstoss nehmen, wenn sich ein Perserkönig den Juden gegenüber in gleicher Weise äusserte." Nor is this all. Meyer explains the out and out priestly-Jewish language of the Artaxerxes edict in chap. 7 by the very "simple" theory that Ezra and his companions drew up the document, while the Persian ministers only gave it official form (p. 65). Why, then, may it not be that Sheshbazzar, or the high priest Jeshua, drew up the Cyrus edict? The reason for denying the authenticity cannot lie in the manner in which the document is presented here, for the claim of its verbal genuineness is precisely as clear as in the case of the *firman* of Ezra; the proclamation is distinctly said to have been "*in writing, as follows*" (1:2). Nor can Meyer fairly withhold credence from the Cyrus edict on the ground that it is presented to us by the Chronicler; so is the Artaxerxes decree (every word of 7:1–11 composed by the Chronicler, as Meyer himself agrees), and so also are the letters in chap. 4. It cannot be said that 1:2–4 is in any way incongruous with 6:3–5; on the contrary, if we should suppose that 1:4 was originally followed immediately by 6:3*aβ* ("As for the house of God in Jerusalem," etc.) so that the text of the complete edict included 1:2–4; 6:3*aβ*–5, the whole document would be perfectly harmonious and homogeneous. Why should not Meyer assume that the Chronicler translated the first sentences of the decree, from Aramaic into Hebrew, and transferred them to their present place in chap. 1, the place where they are really most effective? There is no difficulty whatever in the way—excepting the same difficulties which stand in the way of all the other documents.

As for the claim that the verbal quotation of the documents is presumptive proof of their genuineness: the real fact is, that the direct citation of speeches, letters, and decrees, as a mere literary device, in order to make the account more interesting and effective by increasing its verisimilitude, plays as important a part in the narrative literature of the Hebrews as in that of other peoples. To illustrate: In II Kings 5:6 and 10:2 f. two brief letters are quoted, with the purpose of enlivening the narrative. The one is a letter from the king of Syria to the prophet Elisha, and the other a circular missive sent by Jehu to the magnates of Jezreel and Samaria. They are mere scraps; but the purpose of presenting them as verbal citations, and not as quotations in substance only, is made evident by the formal ועַתָּה (the equivalent of the Aramaic וּכְעֶנֶת) "To proceed," used to introduce the letter proper, after the preliminaries. In II Chron. 2:2–15 we have the transcript of two letters, the correspondence of the kings Hiram and Solomon, with which the Chronicler has enriched the story of the building of the temple. No one well acquainted with the Old Testament would think of asking how it happens that these documents, lost to sight for many centuries, should turn up at last in the hands of the Chronicler.

The "documents" thus far mentioned are not given in full official dress, with the introductory formula of address and greeting, obviously because they are too short to make this desirable. In the book of Esther—at least in its massoretic form—the several royal letters and edicts are given only in brief abstract, though the writer plainly means to give the impression that he could present them *in extenso* if he wished. And in the Greek form of the book they are indeed given verbatim and in full, with date, superscription, and all, in the same way as in the book of Ezra. In Daniel, again, we find the same literary-traditional use of "official records" in order to give dramatic life to the narrative. The technical framework of the documents is given now partially, now entirely. Thus, in 6:26 ff. we have the text of a decree of Darius. It does not begin with the king's name, because that had just been written, and the repetition would have been awkward; but its dress is otherwise quite formal: "To all the Peoples, Nations, and Languages, that dwell in all the earth; your peace be multiplied. I make a decree, etc." And in 3:31—4:34 is given, with all circumstance and in what purports to be the exact form,[13] a long proclamation of Nebuchadnezzar, with both introduction and formal conclusion. Other examples of the same kind are the two letters of Ptolemy Philopator "preserved" in III Maccabees; the first (3:12–29) commanding the punishment of the Jews, and the second (7:1–9) proclaiming the king their friend and protector. Both of these are in the regular epistolary form, like the letters in Ezra.

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[13] Save that in 4:16, 25–30 the narrator carelessly lapses into the use of the third person instead of the first, in speaking of the king; precisely as the Chronicler, in composing the "personal memoirs" of Ezra, every now and then falls out of the impersonation, writing about his hero instead of letting him speak.

More instructive still, if possible, is the employment—i. e., the free composition—of these pseudo-official sources by two of the best-known Jewish historians. Josephus, in his *Antiquities*, illustrates his story of the Jews by the addition of a good many official documents, a considerable proportion of which were evidently composed by him for the purpose. Characteristic specimens are to be found in this very portion of the history dealing with the Persian period, where, in addition to the documents contained in the book of Ezra[14] he presents us with a letter from Cyrus to the governors in Palestine (xi, 1, 3) as well as a letter from Darius to the Samaritans (xi, 4, 9).[15] In both cases it is evident that what Josephus aims to contribute is not information, but pomp and circumstance. He did not compose the letters for the sake of any new material which they contain (the Cyrus letter, for instance, is made up almost entirely of things which stand elsewhere in the book), but simply for the glory which they give the Jews, in the eyes of the world and in triumph over their adversaries the Samaritans. And in the subsequent chapters of his history he proceeds in the same way, introducing here and there high-sounding documents which are quoted verbatim, and the value of which, *to us*, is very small indeed.

In I Maccabees, that most admirable of all Jewish narratives, we have the same thing once more. Its author is a man of the best stamp, and with the instincts of a true historian, though writing from a point of view which is emphatically that of his own day and his own people. He is well informed, but modest and reserved, and withal a man of few words; not at all the one to make a display of learning, or wilfully to mislead his readers. Scattered through his history are copies of official letters, treaties and proclamations; formally faultless, as a rule, but often betraying, in one way or another, the fact that they are not "genuine."[16]

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[14] In the interpolated form which I have already described at some length. See this *Journal*, XXIII, 136 ff.

[15] If anyone wishes to suppose, with Hölscher, *Quellen des Josephus*, 43 ff., that these "apocryphal" additions, and numerous others of the same sort in the subsequent chapters of the history, were made not by Josephus himself, but by one of his sources, whose aim, as he says, was to "glorify Judaism," the argument is of course not affected by the supposition.

[16] So scholars have long recognized and repeatedly shown, in the case of one or another of these documents; for example, the letter of Demetrius Soter, 10:25-45; the proclamation

They are doubtless in the main *trustworthy* in the sense that they give a correct impression of the progress of events, inasmuch as they embody the honest and sober recollection of one who was exceptionally well informed, and who wrote soon after the events, of which at least the greater part had taken place during his own life-time. But whoever looks here for a habit of incorporating official records similar to the habit of modern historians will look in vain.

Again, the fondness of these early writers for the dramatic form of presentation must not be overlooked in this connection. With this end in view they frequently quote verbatim the speeches, prayers, or other utterances of their chief characters. Judas Maccabaeus makes a succession of fiery speeches to his soldiers, I Macc. 3:18–22, 58–60; 4:8–11, etc. Are they "genuine"? So Josephus very often improves the Old Testament narrative by making similar insertions. Thus, in telling the story of Nehemiah (*Antt.*, xi, 5, 7) he gives us the wording of an address of some length made by that hero in the temple. Greek historians had the same habit, as every one knows. Thucydides, for instance, in iv, 85–87 (to take the example which lies nearest at hand) quotes in full a very interesting speech made by the Spartan general Brasidas to the men of Acanthus. The oration is full of weighty matters, and it had an immediate and important effect, as we are expressly told, for it induced the Acanthians to revolt from Athens (just as the letter of Rehum and Shimshai in Ezra 4 had the immediate and important effect of stopping the building of the temple in Jerusalem). Fortunately, Thucydides himself has told us what to expect from such "quotations" as this one. His words are worth repeating here because of their bearing on the present

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in honor of Simon, 14:27-47; and the Roman edict, 15:16-21. Probably not a single one of all the writings thus incorporated in the history represents in its wording, nor even exactly in its substance, any actual document. For the statements made, and the opinions expressed here, I may refer to my article "I Maccabees" in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, III, 2857-69. A renewed study of the book since that article was written, has confirmed me in the conclusions there stated and supported. Certainly the most, and perhaps all, of these incorporated writings were freely composed by the author of the history, as the best means of narrating what he wished to narrate and of making the impression which he wished to make. He had before him no written narrative source or sources. There is no valid reason whatever for supposing interpolation, anywhere in the book. The last three chapters (or more exactly, 14:16—16:24), now quite generally regarded as secondary, certainly formed a part of the original work.

inquiry; i, 22 (Jowett's translation): "*I have put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them; while at the same time I endeavored, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said.*"[17] That is, he gives us in each case, not words which were uttered, but words which, judging from all known facts, ought to have been uttered. This, I take it, is *not* the method of a modern historian, but more nearly that of the writer of a thoroughgoing historical novel. As for drawing a line of distinction, as regards this free use, between the spoken oration, which presumably *was not* preserved in writing, and the official document, which presumably *was* preserved somewhere, we may be sure that no one of these ancient writers did anything of the kind. Not even Thucydides (to say nothing of the Jewish narrators!) could ever have supposed that it was any less permissible to compose the utterances of a Brasidas in the form of a letter, beginning: "Brasidas to the men of Acanthus, greeting," etc. (supposing that a letter was known, or believed, to have been written), than to give the same things in the form of a speech, with the orator's introduction: "Men of Acanthus!" when that was believed to have been the form of the communication. To illustrate: in i, 137 Thucydides presents us with what purports to be a true copy of a letter from Themistocles to Artaxerxes I Longimanus. As a matter of fact, it was certainly invented by the historian, according to the principles above stated by him in regard to the speeches, as few modern scholars would doubt.[18] But to speak of this, and of the documents in Josephus, and Daniel, and I Maccabees, and the rest, as "forgeries" would be a ridiculous misuse of terms.[19] On the other hand, no such freedom as this could be tolerated at the present day, in a serious historical work.

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[17] These words, I believe, describe exactly the proceeding of the author of I Maccabees in composing the documents which are scattered through his history. If original documents were ready to hand, he was glad to use them; if they were not, he invented them, like Thucydides, to the best of his ability and in perfect good faith.

I have recently had the satisfaction of seeing my estimate of the account of the Jewish embassy to Rome, told in I Macc., chap. 8, strikingly confirmed. In my article in the *Encycl. Bibl.*, mentioned above, I argued that the narrative of the sending of the embassy, and of its favorable reception, is accurate, and was plainly written by a contemporary who was well informed; but that the *treaty* there quoted (vss. 23-32) was invented by the author of the book in accordance with the custom which his contemporary readers, at all events, understood (*loc. cit.*, col. 2866). Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*^{5}, 268, contends that I Macc. 8 is an interpolation, though he gives no good reason for this view, beyond the fact that the quoted document cannot be "genuine," and that the narrative is therefore to be suspected. Now, however, Niese has shown (*Nöldeke-Festschrift*, II, 817-29) that Jos., *Antt.*, xiv, 233 has preserved a genuine Roman document of the year 161/160 B. C., dealing with this embassy and containing mention of the reply made to the Jews by the Roman Senate. The substantial accuracy of the narrative in chap. 8 is thus proved once for all; as for the treaty, Niese recognizes, as I had, that it is merely "ein freies, schriftstellerisches Produkt." I have no doubt that the case of I Macc. 15:15-24 is exactly similar, as I also argued at length (col. 2865). Here, again, Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 276, supposes an interpolation.

To sum up: The Hebrew and Jewish narrators and historians, of all ages, were accustomed to give life to their narratives by inventing and inserting speeches, prayers, letters, royal decrees, treaties, and the like, occasionally summarized, but more often given "verbally" and in full, including even the stereotyped framework; just as is done by modern writers of historical novels. Out of the considerable number of such formal documents which have reached us in early Jewish literature (leaving now out of account the documents in Ezra) very few can be called genuine, at best,[20] and these few belong to a time long after the close of the Persian period. In the case of the most of them it seems highly probable that the author and his readers thought of them merely as a mode of literary embellishment. They are not, and were not intended, to be taken seriously. This certainly gives us a clear presumption with which to approach the Ezra documents, though not exactly the presumption which Professor Meyer demands.

But Meyer's failure to take account of this literary habit is by no means the chief objection which is to be raised against his treatment of the Ezra documents, as I shall endeavor to show.

3. *The Tendency of the Documents*

In a footnote on p. 43 of his *Entstehung* Meyer says: "Davon will ich gar nicht weiter reden, dass absolut nicht einzusehen ist, zu welchem Zwecke sich jemand die Mühe gegeben haben sollte, diese und ebenso die anderen Urkunden von cap. 4–6 zu fabriciren." This confession of inability to see any motive for composing these documents is a fatal one, for it shows either that Meyer has not the thoroughgoing acquaintance with Jewish literature which is absolutely necessary to any one who undertakes such an investigation as this, or else, that he is shutting his eyes to what lies in plain sight. In the first place, we are not limited to imaginary cases, for we have in the pre-Christian Jewish writings plenty of "fabricated" documents of just this nature, to which we can turn for instruction. Why did the Chronicler—or his source—insert the Hiram-Solomon letters (verbally quoted) in his account of the building of the temple? Why do we find in Josephus' history of the Persian period the formal letters from Cyrus to the Syrian governors and from Darius to the Samaritans, to say nothing of the many others of the same character? And again, why should the author of the Daniel stories "have given himself the trouble" to compose the royal edicts which he incorporates, especially the very long decree of Nebuchadnezzar? Can any one imagine a reason why the long and elaborate "Letter of Aristeas" should have been composed with such painstaking by an Egyptian Jew, in the third century B. C.? At all events, it was thus fabricated, and probably at very near the time when these Ezra documents were composed. And then we have the dozens of royal letters and decrees, freely invented, in the three books of Maccabees, in Esther, and still elsewhere. Even if the motives were "absolut nicht einzusehen," the fact would remain that these more or less elaborate formal instruments were created by the wholesale, by Jewish narrators, from at least the third century B. C. onward.

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[18] "Der Brief Thuc. 1, 137 kann nicht als echte Urkunde angesehen werden;" Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, p. 50, note.

[19] See my *Composition of Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. 29, above; and my article "I Maccabees" in the *Encyl. Bibl.*, §§ 8 (end), 9*d*, 10. It would be interesting and profitable to carry still farther the discussion of this whole matter of the literary embellishment of serious narrative by ancient writers. It is a subject which, so far as Hebrew-Jewish literature is concerned, has been almost totally neglected.

[20] Josephus incorporates some genuine documents in his history, in the portion dealing with the close of the Greek rule and the beginning of the Roman period. He simply copies them from his Greek sources, and sometimes inserts them in ludicrously unsuitable places; see Niese in the *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, II, 828, and Hölscher, *Quellen des Josephus*, p. 22.

It is plain, further, that Meyer greatly underestimates the power of imagination possessed by the early Jewish writers, and the extent to which this power was used in their writings. On p. 47, for example, in speaking of the statement in Ezr. 6:1, 2 that the memorandum supposed to be in Babylon[21] was found at Ecbatana, he says that this is "was kein Mensch erfunden haben würde."

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[21] As a matter of fact, however, the word בבל here does not mean "Babylon," but ‘Babylonia."

But this is putting an astonishingly low estimate on the capacity of an Israelite story-teller. Such bits of real life as this are just the business of any one who wishes to give his narrative touches of verisimilitude. Moreover, in this particular instance even a very stupid narrator might well have been equal to the invention, for it was obviously incumbent on him to show why this document had been lost to sight: the fact is (so the narrator implies), no one would have thought of looking for such a record anywhere else than in Babylonia; but really it was in Ecbatana all the time; hence Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius had known nothing about it. And so it is with the other elements of the narrative, or features of the documents, which Meyer singles out as marks of genuineness; they are all such, and only such, as any writer with a particle of imagination would be sure to produce.

Again, Meyer points repeatedly to the plausible elements in these records, as though giving conclusive proof of their genuineness; a "forger" would not have made them thus. So on p. 43, for instance, speaking of the letter of Tattenai in chap. 5, he says that if all this is forged, the forgery is "äusserst geschickt gemacht." But does not this also reveal a surprisingly low opinion of the literary ability of that day? The authorship of these documents might be called "skilful" if they were drawn up and worded in such a way that they would not appear to be Jewish compositions. But any student of the Old Testament can see that they all sound distinctly—often, indeed, quite unmistakably—like Jewish compositions. Even Meyer sees it. He is obliged to admit a "Jewish redaction" of the official writings in chap. 6 (see below). He is even forced to assume, in the case of 7:12–26, that Ezra composed this royal edict, while the Persians merely signed it! Whatever else may be said of the narrator whose "Persian official documents" necessitate such a telltale hypothesis as this, he certainly cannot be called "äusserst geschickt."

As for the skill displayed (it may be remarked here in passing), we might reasonably have expected that the composer, or composers, of these documents would try to imitate the Aramaic of the fifth century B. C. That which is actually employed belongs to a period two or three centuries later, as will be shown presently.

It may be, however, that specimens of the older language were not within reach.

But to return to the tendency of the documents. Meyer's remark, quoted above, that he cannot imagine a motive for the invention of these records, is by no means an empty phrase. It is plain, on page after page, that he is indeed able to overlook the many plain indications which any thorough student of Hebrew-Jewish history and literature finds staring him in the face; I mean those students who recognize the fact that the Chronicler did not write unvarnished history, and that the narrative of Daniel is fancifully didactic rather than literally accurate. It is quite evident, as one reads on, that this whole laborious investigation of the "Entstehung" would not have been written if its author had been more intimately acquainted with the people about which he is writing.[22] It is not only easy to see the "Tendenz" which produced these documents; it is impossible not to see it, for one who is familiar with the literature which is most nearly related. On p. 51 Meyer concedes that 6:12*a* cannot be the genuine utterance of a Persian king, and accordingly decides that a "jüdischer Eiferer" inserted it in the original document. But may not such an "Eiferer" have written more than single verses? The Chronicler composed the Cyrus edict in chap. 1, and doubtless with a motive. May not a similar motive have led some one of his fellows to compose other edicts?

During the Greek period, the Jewish religion found itself on trial for its life. The children of Israel now saw, as never before, how small and despised a part of humanity they were. Greek thought and culture, especially, had made great inroads. The Dispersion, which had assumed great proportions even in the Persian period,[23] now threatened to put a speedy end to the national existence. To crown all, the glory of Jerusalem, so long the center and heart of the Jewish religion, began to be dimmed. There was a temple (as we now know) in Egypt; another, more recently established, on Mount Gerizim; and very likely still others in Babylonia and elsewhere. It is no wonder that the zealous Jews of Jerusalem did what they could to stem the tide, and to establish beyond all question the supremacy of the mother church. It was this impulse, primarily, which produced the whole "history" which the Chronicler wrote, and which gave the motive for composing these Persian documents and many others of the same kind. They are an eminently characteristic product of the Greek period.

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[22] Professor Meyer takes his predecessors to task (pp. 4 f., 70 f.) for their too exclusive attention to Palestine and the Old Testament, to the neglect of Persian history especially. It is true that the tendency to take the narrow view is strong; and Old Testament scholars may well feel grateful to Meyer for the many new points of view which he has given, as well as for his vigorous and clear presentation of his side of the argument. But the prime requisite, after all, is knowledge of the Jews.

[23] So I wrote in one of my lectures on the Second Isaiah, delivered at Harvard University in 1905. Meyer, p. 67: "Eine jüdische Diaspora gab es damals noch nicht." The matter is of course of the most vital importance to any theory of the "restoration."

I can think of no better way of setting forth the "tendency" of these documents than to quote one or two recent characterizations of similar writings belonging to this same period. Schürer, *Geschichte*[3], III, 468, speaking of the Letter of Aristeas, says: "Diese Inhaltsübersicht zeigt, dass der Zweck der Erzählung keineswegs die erzählte Geschichte an sich ist, sondern diese Geschichte, insofern sie lehrt, welche Hochachtung und Bewunderung für das jüdische Gesetz und das Judenthum überhaupt selbst heidnische Autoritäten wie der König Ptolemäus und sein Gesandter Aristeas hegten. Denn gerade darin gipfelt die Tendenz des Ganzen, dass hier dem jüdischen Gesetze aus heidnischem Munde ein Lob zubereitet wird." Here is a motive, and a very easily comprehensible one, which could have produced just such official utterances as those which we find in the book of Ezra. Very similar are the terms in which Hölscher, *Quellen des Josephus*, p. 44, describes a considerable group of "official" documents and allied narratives dealing with the Persian and Greek periods, which he believes Josephus to have derived from Alexander Polyhistor: "All diesen Geschichten gemeinsam ist . . . . die ausgesprochene Tendenz, das Judentum zu verherrlichen: es soll illustriert werden, wie die Könige der Weltreiche dem Judentum huldigen, wie sie für Tempel und Kultur Sorge tragen, wie sie in Jerusalem anbeten, wie sie offiziell dort für sich beten lassen. Sie betragen sich als musterhafte Proselyten; sie beschenken den Tempel, sie gewähren den Juden Privilegien und Steuererlasse. Gerade dies letztere kehrt immer wieder; darum auch all die

Edikte, die für diese Quelle charakteristisch sind. Das andere, was die Legenden mit Vorliebe behandeln, ist das Verhältnis von Juden und Samaritanern. Die Juden erscheinen dabei stets als Muster der Frömmigkeit und Treue, die Samaritaner aber als heuchlerisch und boshaft; die letzteren ziehen denn auch stets, wie die Quelle zeigt, den kürzeren."

No better characterization of the Aramaic documents in Ezra is needed than these two quotations furnish. Almost every single one of the features here enumerated is to be found in the Old Testament book; and what is more, there is no material in any of the Ezra documents which does not directly serve one or more of the purposes here named. The exaltation of the Jews and their religion by foreign kings and magnates; *the triumph over the Samaritans;* the oft-repeated and emphasized proof that Jerusalem is the one legitimate seat of the cultus; the claim of especial perquisites and privileges for the clergy in particular; these all are not present incidentally in the documents, *they are all that the documents contain.* To go into detail here would involve writing out pretty much the whole of their contents. The strong Jewish coloring is everywhere (even in the unnecessary laudation of the Jews by their enemies, 4:20; 5:11 f.), and permeates the whole fabric; the worn-out subterfuge of an "Ueberarbeitung" will not avail here.

But the Jewish character of these documents is not the only count in the indictment. Against their genuineness is also to be put down, that they show no sign of intimate acquaintance with the history of the Persian period. The Jewish apologist, writing in the Greek period, found himself confronted with two principal questions which he must needs answer, and answer conclusively. They were the following: (1) How did it happen that (as known from Haggai and Zechariah) the temple at Jerusalem was not suitably built and completed until the time of Darius? and (2) If Jerusalem and Judea were completely depopulated by the Chaldeans (as is asserted in II Kings 24:14; 25:26(!), etc.), what manner of men were the Jews of the second temple? Whence did they come? Were they a mixed rabble from the surrounding districts? *Might not even the Samaritans be of better Jewish* *blood, after all, as they claimed to be?* We have before us, in the Chronicler's history, an answer to these two questions; an answer which began with Adam and was worked out with minute elaboration down into the latter part of the Persian period. The Aramaic documents (by whomsoever composed) are obviously an important part of the same answer;[24] and it is equally obvious that every particle of the material which they contain could have been derived either directly or indirectly from Haggai, Zechariah, and II Kings 25, with the aid of such information as to Persian things as could be had in any city of Syria or Palestine at any time in the Greek period.[25] If anyone asserts that these documents in Ezra display more knowledge of the Persian court, or of conditions in the Persian realm, than is displayed in the books of Daniel, Esther, and Tobit, he asserts what is not true.

An important conclusion stated by Meyer, p. 74, deserves to be especially emphasized: "Diese Thatsache . . . . lehrt, dass es über das ganze erste Jahrhundert der nachexilischen Geschichte bis auf Ezra und Nehemia herab keinerlei Nachrichten und keinerlei Tradition gab mit Ausnahme dessen, was in den erhaltenen Urkunden Ezra 4–6 und in den gleichzeitigen Propheten stand." That is, aside from these same more than suspicious "Urkunden," there is nothing whatever to show that any genuine tradition of the early Persian period was preserved in Jerusalem. Even this support is denied them.[26]

Once more. There are numerous perfectly plain bits of evidence showing that the documents, in the form which we have, are not what they profess to be. These are (briefly): (1) The wording. Aside from the specifically Jewish phrases, and the peculiar vocabulary of the Chronicler, the comparison of 6:5 with 5:14 (!) shows conclusively that we are dealing, at least at this single but crucial point, with made-up documents. (2) The language. As will be shown below, the Aramaic of Ezra is not at all that of the fifth century B. C. (3) The names of the kings. The form of the name "Artaxerxes" which is employed in Ezra is not above suspicion; and the name "Nebuchadrezzar" appears in the form (written with *n*) which is characteristic of the Greek period. (4) The documents are not dated. Genuine documents would have borne dates; and it is unlikely that any copyist or editor would ever have omitted such an extremely interesting and important detail.

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[24] See further below.

[25] It is obvious why the "return" was represented as taking place under Cyrus, and also, why Cyrus should have been supposed to furnish money for the building of the temple. This was the beginning of the new (Persian) *régime*, under which the temple was actually built and completed; the natural turning-point was here. And as for the royal aid, how else could these returning exiles, entering a desolate land and a ruined city, have undertaken their task? Such reflections as these first resulted in definite theories at about the middle of the third century B. C., so far as our sources enable us to judge. Compare what was said above, in regard to the Greek period.

[26] So far as the "Urkunde" 7:12–26 is concerned, it is of course customary to find support for it in the "Ezra memoirs" which immediately follow. As a matter of fact, the one is precisely as "genuine" as the other. As I have already demonstrated, the whole Ezra story was composed by the Chronicler, with no other apparent basis than his own imagination (my *Composition*, pp. 14–29, 57–62). Meyer treats these Chronicler tales, and some of the worthless lists as well, as trustworthy material; with the result that the most of his book is simply built on air. Wellhausen's *Geschichte*, in the chapters dealing with this period, is not much better.

The final statement of the case, then, is this. Here are documents which from their wording cannot possibly be regarded as true copies of genuine originals; written in a dialect which belongs to a time much later than the one which they profess to represent; containing no facts or materials not obtainable in the Greek period, and unsupported by any tradition from the Persian period; found in the most untrustworthy of all Hebrew histories; themselves written with a manifest tendency; and finding their only close parallels in numerous writings of about the same time which are acknowledged to be inventions—and we are asked to pronounce them 'genuine, at least in substance'! The theory of their authenticity, in any sense whatever, has evidently not a leg to stand on.

On p. 43, in speaking of the Tattenai correspondence in Ezr., chap. 5, Meyer says: "Wer die Urkunde verwirft, thut dies denn auch nicht aus inneren Gründen, sondern weil er den Tempelbau unter Kyros oder richtiger den Befehl des Kyros den Tempel wiederaufzubauen für unhistorisch hielt, oder weil er die Nachricht von der Rückkehr der Juden unter Kyros verwirft." But this is hardly fair to the scholars who have written on the subject. Probably not one of the number cares a straw for his most cherished theory in comparison with finding out the truth as to the origin and character of these records. We are in the direst need of information as to the history of the Jews in the Persian period, and every scrap of material that promises help ought to be treasured and put to use. But no extremity of need can outweigh the obligation to follow the evidence. So the verdict in regard to the Aramaic part of Ezra must be, "that it contains, not a series of remarkable utterances by heathen kings and officers to the glory of the Jews and their religion, but a kind of literature that abounds during this period of Jewish history. So far as historical value is concerned, it stands in all respects on the same plane with Dan. 2–6 and the book of Esther."[27]

II. THE CHRONICLER'S PART IN THE ARAMAIC PORTIONS

The letter of Artaxerxes to Ezra, 7:12–26, was created entire by the Chronicler, like the context in which it stands. The narrative which introduces it, 7:1–11, is the work of his hand, and so also is that which follows, 7:27 f.; 8:1–36, as I have shown elsewhere (*Composition*, pp. 16 ff., 20 f.). There is no single verse in all the Chronicler's history which is more unmistakably his own property than 7:28. The letter itself is marked throughout its whole extent by his favorite ideas and phrases, and his peculiar lexical and syntactical usages, manifest even in their Aramaic dress. See the notes below, *passim.* It is especially interesting to observe how closely this letter parallels two of the Chronicler's documents which precede it; namely, the royal edict in chap. 1 and the royal letter to the "eparchs" of the Transflumen, now preserved in I Esdras 4:47*b*–56, but originally following immediately upon Ezra 1:1–11, as I have shown. Thus, 1:2 is reproduced in 7:14; 1:3 in 7:13 and the last clause of vs. 15 ("who dwells in Jerusalem"); 1:4 reappears in 7:15, 16 (including the "silver and gold and free-will offerings," offered "for the house of God which is in Jerusalem"). And again: 7:17 had its counterpart in I Esdr. 4:52 (and also in Ezr. 6:5, *nota bene*); 7:18 corresponds to 4:54 ff.; vs. 19 brings back again Ezr. 1:7 ff.; vs. 20 corresponds to I Esdr. 4:51, and vs. 21 to vss. 47*b*, 48. Vss. 22 f. are again similar to I Esdr. 4:51 f., besides reproducing very noticeably Ezr. 6:9 f. And finally, vs. 24 is a repetition of I Esdr. 4:53–56 (cf. also 49 f.), the perquisites of the priests, Levites, and gate-keepers. That is, the decrees of Cyrus in favor of Sheshbazzar and his company are here reproduced in substance, and even with a striking repetition of the wording of whole phrases, in the decree of Artaxerxes for Ezra and his followers.

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[27] *Composition*, p. 8.

Another passage composed in Aramaic by the Chronicler is 6:15–18, directly continued in vss. 19 ff. by his Hebrew narrative. That vs. 15 belongs to him is proved sufficiently by the exact date which it contains, coupled with the fact that in vs. 14 the preceding narrative comes to a natural close. I was formerly inclined to assign the last three words of vs. 14 to him also (*Composition*, p. 10), but now believe that it is better to regard them as the work of a mere glossator. The Chronicler has written out the story of this whole period of history with some care, and it is hardly fair to him to accuse him, unnecessarily, of this bit of carelessness. He should at least be given the benefit of the doubt.

The work of the Chronicler's hand is to be seen, once more, in the two verses 6:9, 10, as I have already shown with abundant proof (*Composition*, p. 10).

These are the only parts of the Aramaic of Ezra which can surely be traced to the Chronicler. The question of course suggests itself, whether he may not also have been the author of 6:6–14; the grounds of the suspicion being (1) the presence of two verses written by him in the middle of this section; and (2) the strange transition from vs. 5 to vs. 6, the words of Cyrus being followed, without any warning, by those of Darius; which certainly resembles the heedless leap in chap. 7, from vs. 26 to vs. 27, where Artaxerxes is suddenly interrupted by Ezra. But it is far more probable that there has been an accidental omission between verses 5 and 6 in chap. 6. Even the Chronicler himself would hardly have made so intolerably abrupt a transition as this. Moreover, there are no manifest traces of his presence in vss. 6–8 and 11–14, though in a passage of this length, in any writing of his, it is usually easy to recognize his handiwork. It is to be observed, also, that when vss. 9 f. are removed, the passage reads smoothly and consistently. The original narrator is concerned only with the building of the temple; there is no evidence, aside from these two verses, that he also intended to represent Cyrus and Darius as providing for the details of the cultus—to say nothing of the "bullocks, rams and lambs" and the "wheat, salt, wine and oil" which the Chronicler is so fond of parading before us; see I Chron. 29:21; II Chron. 29:21, 22, 32; Ezr. 6:17; 7:17, 22; 8:35, and cf. II Chron. 2:9, 14.

The question, which has sometimes been raised, whether the whole Aramaic section, 4:8—6:14, may not also have been written by the Chronicler, I have once more examined with care; with the result of satisfying myself completely that the hypothesis is an untenable one. The manner of the transition in 4:7 f. (in whatever way these verses are treated) shows distinctly that the work of another narrator begins here. The Chronicler, composing the narrative freely, could not possibly have proceeded in this way. It is also incredible that he could have kept his identity concealed throughout this long section. He could hardly have brought himself to leave the Levites, singers, porters, and Nethinim completely out of sight for nearly three whole chapters; and even if that had been possible, he could not have abandoned to this extent his own vocabulary and style.[28]

I formerly thought that the interpolation 4:9 f. might be attributed to the Chronicler, and regarded him as the probable author of 4:24; see my *Composition*, pp. 7–9. The former of these passages will be discussed below; the latter can best be considered here.

So far as internal evidence is concerned, there is no reason for regarding the Chronicler as the author of 4:24. The phrase מלך פרס is found also written by another hand in 6:14, as I have just shown, and it probably was in common use. The only argument which needs to be considered is the one which aims to show that the verse is an editorial patch. The argument rests on two main assumptions: (1) that this Aramaic narrative is a contemporary account, and trustworthy history; and (2) that vs. 24, which speaks of the building of the temple, is out of keeping with the preceding documents, which speak only of the building of the city. But these two assumptions are both mistaken.

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[28] As I have remarked elsewhere, the Chronicler's peculiar habits in the use of words, phrases, and constructions appear everywhere, and in quite uniform distribution, throughout Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., *excepting* in (1) the parts copied verbally from Samuel and Kings; (2) this Aramaic source, Ezr. 4:8—6:14; (3) Nehemiah, chaps. 1, 2, 4—6.

I have already shown that the order of the Persian kings, Cyrus, Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, Darius II, in these chapters, 4 ff.—and therefore, of course, the order of the chapters themselves—is the only correct one, according to the view which prevailed in Jerusalem in the Greek period. Both the substance and the progress of the narrative here are precisely what we should expect, when the purposes of the narrator are taken into account. As already remarked (above, p. 225), the author of these "official" documents and the narrative containing them was concerned with two important matters: the delay in building the temple, and the relation of the Jews to the Samaritans. These enemies of the Jews undertook, on two different occasions, to hinder the building of the sanctuary in Jerusalem, by writing to the Persian king. On the first occasion, when they were shrewd enough to speak only of the city as a whole,[29] without specifying the temple in particular, they had the good luck to gain their point, and the building was stopped. On the second occasion, when other officials, less cautious, wrote only in regard to the temple, the attempt not only failed, but even proved to be of great assistance to the Jews, for it resulted in the recovery of long-lost documents which led the king at once to take the temple in Jerusalem under his special patronage. From the literary point of view—and we need no other—this is all quite according to rule; in fact, it is exactly the way in which any story or play, ancient or modern, would conceive the course of events in order to make it as dramatically effective as possible. At first the villain triumphs, not by fair means, but through misrepresentation; but in the end he is overwhelmed.

This being the case, it is obvious that such a verse as 24, standing where it now stands, was essential to the original narrative. The way in which it attaches itself directly to vs. 23 is evident, and also the fact that it is absolutely indispensable as the preparation for 5:1.[30] The composer of this Jewish-Samaritan drama could not have devised a sentence which would more exactly have satisfied his immediate purposes. The question of its authorship can therefore not fairly be raised at all.

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[29] It is customary to say that the two letters in 4:11–22 deal with the building of *the city wall.* This is not the case, however. It is *the building up of the city* that is described, and that the king orders to be stopped (vs. 21). Of course the city walls are also specified by the Samaritans; and of course the prohibition of further building included the temple, at which the Samaritans were especially aiming.

In conclusion: I believe that the Chronicler incorporated this Aramaic writing in its entirety, and that we have it in substantially its original form. A passage has been accidentally lost between 6:5 and 6:6, as already remarked. The story probably began with some such formula as [בימי ארתחששתא מלכא כְתַב] רחום בעל טעם, and so on as in 4:8. The Chronicler, when he wrote his own introductory verse, 4:7 (as emended below), necessarily omitted the words which I have inclosed in brackets.

There were doubtless many such popular narratives written, after the same manner in which popular and edifying tales have always been written. The one which the Chronicler chose to incorporate was the work of a man of his own school of ideas, who in all probability lived and wrote at about the same time as he, namely in the middle of the third century B. C.[31]

III. THE ARAMAIC OF THE BOOK OF EZRA

On this point it is now possible to be very brief, thanks to the recent discoveries of Aramaic papyri in Egypt. All the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra belongs to the dialect of the second and third centuries B. C. This includes (1) the Aramaic written by the Chronicler; (2) that of the Story of the Samaritan Intrigues, which he incorporates; (3) the language of Dan., chaps. 2–7.[32] The date at which the Chronicler wrote may properly be taken as the representative one for the period covered by all these documents. The Aramaic story which he edits may be a trifle older, though it probably belongs to his own generation.[33] One chapter, at least, of the Aramaic part of Daniel was written nearly a century later. From the linguistic point of view, this is all thoroughly homogeneous; there is no possibility of any scientific division into "earlier" and "later" sections. All these writings, and all in just the same way, represent a certain stage in the development of Western Aramaic; there is not a single particular, major or minor, in which the one of them can be said with confidence to belong to a more advanced stage of development than its fellow.[34] Any one of the group might be designated the earliest, or the latest, with equal right.

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[30] It is altogether unlikely that the date, "in the second year of Darius," stood also in 5:1 (as I once suggested as possible, *Comp.*, p. 12, note 1). As for I Esdr. 6:1, of course the date there had to be inserted by the redactor who interpolated the Story of the Three Youths and transposed the Artaxerxes letters. The curious theory (now quite generally adopted) that the passage 5:1, 2 was not written by the author of 5:3 ff. needs no additional refutation. Of course the one who knew (5:14) of the prophecy of Haggai and Zechariah knew also (from Hag. 1:12, 14, etc.) that Zerubbabel and Jeshua were the leaders in the work of building. Chap. 6:7 shows the same thing, plainly enough.

[31] It is fair to draw this conclusion from the fact that this Aramaic tale presupposes (not only in 4:12, 15 f., but also, by implication, in 5:12 ff.) the theory of a return of "the Babylonian exiles." Inasmuch as every other mention of such a return, in the whole Old Testament down to Tobit 14:5, comes from the Chronicler himself (*Composition*, pp. 62 f.), it is probable that the theory originated in his own generation, in the school to which he belonged.

This is by no means a new discovery, so far as the identity of the Aramaic of Ezra with that of Daniel is concerned. On this point the Semitic scholars of the present generation are practically agreed. There has been a strange failure, however, to draw the correct conclusion as to the *date* represented by this stage of the dialect. We have had for comparison a good many Aramaic inscriptions dating all the way from the eighth century B. C. downward, including material sufficient to give us a tolerably clear idea of some of the most characteristic changes which took place in the language, from the Euphrates to Egypt. The evidence has been quite sufficient to show that our "biblical Aramaic" could hardly be dated so early as the fourth century B. C., to say nothing of a still earlier date. Yet scholars have persisted in looking at the Ezra "documents" through the medium of a theory, and have found it possible to hold the view that the language in which they are written belongs to the sixth and fifth centuries,[35] while dating the Aramaic of Daniel in the second century—as though the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* did not exist.

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[32] In my own opinion, which I have often expressed, the first six chapters of Daniel are older than the rest of the book, which was written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. But there is no difference between the Aramaic of chaps. 2-6 and that of chap. 7.

[33] The Aramaic Story of the Three Youths, as I have already shown, belongs approximately to this same period, but is probably older than any of these other documents, dating from near the beginning of the third century.

[34] The fact that the suffix forms ־כֹם and ־הֹם (instead of ־כוֹן and ־הוֹן) do not happen to be used in Dan., as they are frequently in Ezr., can hardly be made an exception to this statement, since the forms ending in ם continue to be found in both Jewish and gentile Aramaic until long after the time when the book of Daniel was given its final form (e. g., in the Jerusalem Targums, and in Nabatean inscriptions dated in the first century A. D.). The Chronicler uses *both* the ם and the ן suffixes, and the one about as often as the other.

Similarly, the preformative א, instead of ה, in the stems of the verb, is represented by several examples in Daniel, but does not appear in Ezra. But we seem to have the same thing in the form אֶשְׁתַּדּוּר, Ezr. 4:15, 19, which is apparently a verbal noun from the *hithpa'al* of שׁדר ; cf. משׁתדר in Dan. 6:15. Moreover, the process has already begun in the time of the papyri from Elephantine; see the *hithpe'el* form אשׁתרין (1st pers. plur. perf.), in Cowley's K, 2. Notice also such parallel phenomena as the name אושעיה (for הו׳) in H, 18, and the pronoun אנון in Ezra.

It is very probable, indeed, that Dan., chap. 2-6 was written somewhat later than the Aramaic parts of Ezra; but it is not safe to say that this *is proved by the language.*

Now, however, the papyri of Assuan and Elephantine have given us abundant material confirming most decisively the witness of the inscriptions. The first publishers of these texts have not made the matter plain, to be sure; in fact, what they have written would rather tend to mislead inquirers in regard to this point. Sachau, *Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine*, 1907, p. 3, writes: "Die Sprache, in der sie geschrieben sind, ist in allen wesentlichen Stücken identisch mit derjenigen der aramäischen Kapitel in den Büchern Esra und Daniel, und ihre Phraseologie bietet nahe Berührungen mit derjenigen der amtlichen Urkunden im Esrabuche." And Sayce and Cowley had previously written in their publication, *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan*, 1906, p. 20: "Much of the interest of the texts lies in the many points of contact which they show with Palestinian Aramaic as represented by the books of Ezra and Daniel. *The differences are due no doubt partly to the difference of locality, partly also perhaps to the popular style of the deeds as compared with the literary style of Biblical Aramaic*" (the italics are mine). But this merely obscures the true state of the case. Of course the language of all these writings, biblical and extra-biblical, is Aramaic and (more or less) Jewish. The "points of contact" could be taken for granted; the points of difference are what we most need to consider.

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[35] Those who think that these documents are genuine, and were preserved in an archive, must of course hold that they are written in their original dialect. To suppose that they have been systematically altered throughout, in such a way as carefully to remove all those traces by which they could be recognized as genuine, is to attribute to the Chronicler or to his predecessors an altogether unexampled stupidity, especially since the archaisms would not in the least impair the intelligibility of the documents.

One of the most significant facts in the history of the development of the old West-Aramaic dialect is the gradual replacement of certain sibilants by their corresponding dentals. In our oldest Aramaic inscriptions, including those (such as the coins of Mazaeus) which date from the fourth century, for example, the relative pronoun is always זי, and the root of the demonstratives is ז; in all the inscriptions (from whatever land) dating from the third century B. C. or later, the relative pronoun is always די, and the demonstrative root is ד. The condition of things in biblical Aramaic, as regards the sibilants and dentals in general, is altogether like that which is found in classical Syriac and the Aramaic of the Targums; that is, it belongs to the final stage of the development. In the important group of inscriptions from Zenjirli and Nerab, dating from the seventh and eighth centuries B. C., the vocabulary has not yet begun to be "Aramaic" in the matter of these dentals and sibilants. It stands at the opposite extreme, in this regard, from the vocabulary of biblical Aramaic.

The Assuan-Elephantine papyri, which cover the greater part of the fifth century, dating from 471 to 408 B. C., furnish just the added information which was needed, for they occupy, in the most unequivocal manner, the middle ground between the language of the old inscriptions named and that of the Aramaic of the Old Testament. The relative pronoun is זי, everywhere, and all but invariably. In one text, Cowley's E, ll. 11 and 16, די is found, in the combination דילכי. Similarly, the demonstrative root, in all the papyri, is ז, not ד. We have the forms זנה, זנך, זך, זא, זכי, a multitude of them in the aggregate; while forms written with ד occur twice, דכא and דכי, both found in the same text. In the case of nouns and verbs, the "Aramaic" transformation of the susceptible classes of sibilants is already well under way; we have יתב (not ישב), חדת, תוב, etc., also דכר, דרע "arm," כדב, מדבחא, etc.; but these side by side with זהבא, Sachau I, 12, 28; II, 10, and זכרן (while in Ezra we have דכרן and דכרונה), Sachau III, 1 f. That is, in the Jewish Aramaic of Egypt which prevailed so late as 408 B. C. the characteristically Aramaic forms of the demonstrative and relative pronouns were only just beginning to make their appearance, while the more extensive change of which this is only a single manifestation had not progressed far. From the way in which this corresponds to the progress of the same dialect in northern Syria, we can draw a sure conclusion as to the Aramaic which was written at this time in Judea. It is beyond reasonable doubt that if we could come now into the possession of specimens of Palestinian Aramaic of the fourth century B. C., we should find that during this period the ד-forms of the pronouns gradually gained the upper hand, appearing only occasionally in the first part of the century, but becoming the rule during its closing years. Then later on, in the third century, was reached that settled state of things, in this regard, which we see henceforth in biblical Aramaic, the inscriptions of Nabatea and Palmyra, and the other later representatives of the western dialect. Thus the linguistic evidence agrees entirely with the conclusions reached on other grounds.

In numerous other particulars, however, the biblical dialect is itself seen to be in a transitional stage, showing the beginning, or the early stages, of certain tendencies which became fixed at a later day. For example, in the Egyptian papyri, and previously, the preformative of the causative stem is ה, not א; similarly in the other derived stems which begin with a breathing. In biblical Aramaic several of these forms begin with א (see the note above); in the *Megillath Ta'nīth* and some of the other old specimens of the later Jewish Aramaic the forms written with ה are rare; so also in Nabatean inscriptions; later still, they disappear altogether. In the use of the forms המו, המון for the pronoun of the 3d pers. sing. masc., biblical Aramaic agrees with the fifth-century papyri (המו). But in both Daniel and Ezra appears the form אנון, which soon after became universal (with slight modifications here and there). The use of the proleptic suffix-pronoun, so characteristic of the Aramaic dialects from Ezra and Daniel onward, seems hardly to have begun as early as the fifth century, judging from the papyri and the inscriptions. Another instructive instance is found in the forms of the construct infinitive of the derived verbal stems. For these infinitives, *two* nearly identical abstract noun-forms, A [מְ]קַטָּלָה, etc., and B [מְ]קַטָּלוּ, etc., are chiefly used in the various stages of the language. For the absolute infinitive, forms of type A are everywhere used in biblical Aramaic, and continue to be regular in the Jewish dialects. Forms of type B are regular in classical Syriac, and appear in other gentile dialects; e. g., למתחשבו in the Palmyrene Tariff, II*c*, l. 4. For the construct infinitive, on the other hand, forms from the type B early gained the upper hand, even in Jewish Aramaic. Doubtless there was a time when constructs formed from A were commonly used, but we see in Ezra and Daniel only the vanishing traces of such a usage. In Ezr. 4:22 we find לְהַנְזָקַת, and in Dan. 5:12 אַחֲוָיַת; though some of our recent commentators and editors have wished to "emend" away these most interesting and important examples! Similar forms appear now and then in the later Jewish dialects of Palestine (Dalman, *Gramm.*^{2}, 279), see for example Dalman's *Dialektproben*, 16, l. 16, מְפָּקַתְהוֹן.[36]

The number of these illustrations might easily be increased still further. But enough has been said to show clearly the stage of linguistic development, in general, which is occupied by the Aramaic sections of Ezra.

IV. PROPER NAMES AND FOREIGN WORDS

1. *Proper Names*

In beginning this brief treatment of the proper names which are characteristic of the Aramaic part of Ezra, a preliminary word of a general character may be permitted. The names which Jewish parents in the Persian and Greek periods gave to their children were not always, and perhaps not often, given because of their significance. Doubtless there had been a time, in early Hebrew history, when the etymology of the name was the prime consideration leading to the choice of it; but that time had been long outgrown, and the Jews, like other peoples, had become accustomed to choose names simply because they liked the sound of them, or because they were borne by relatives or friends, or for some good omen which (quite irrespective of their origin) they were supposed to carry. This fact is especially evident from the extent to which foreign names were given to the children of Jewish parents. When a Jewish narrator chooses such names as "Esther" and "Mordecai" for his hero and heroine, it is plain that names borrowed from the surrounding peoples were used in those days very much as they are in the most civilized nations at the present time. And all the indications which we have point in this direction. The Chronicler's lists (compiled by him presumably from the names of the prominent Jews of his own time) contain a considerable number of names like "Elam," "Paḥath-Moab," "Nebo," and "Bagoi" (בגוי), all of which designate true Israelites. The writer of the stories in the first part of Daniel names one of his heroes עבד נבו, a name which certainly would never have been selected if it had not been well known as Jewish; so also when the pious father Mattathias names one of his boys "Gaddi" (from the heathen god),[37] it is evident that the time had long passed when names had to be taken at their exact face value. We should suppose, moreover, on general grounds, that during the period of Persian rule Babylonian and Persian names would have become popular in Jerusalem and Judea, as well as among the Jews of the Dispersion. This does, in fact, seem to have been the case, as the evidence from Palestine, Babylonia, and Egypt shows us.

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[36] Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 142, n. 3, regards the final -ā of these absolute infinitives of type A as the emphatic, rather than the feminine, ending. It seems to me that the evidence here presented, in view of the history of the absolute state in old Aramaic and the analogy of the infinitives ending in וּ—, is decidedly against this view.

It has been quite usual among Old Testament scholars, however, to assume that a Babylonian name means a Babylonian, a Persian name a Persian, and so on. Thus Cowley, *Papyri*, p. 13, speaking of the names which occur in these Jewish-Aramaic records from Upper Egypt: "In some cases the father and son bear names belonging to different languages, which points to racial intermarriage. Thus Satibarzanes is the son of Athar-ili, a name which is itself Assyrianized Aramaean, and Bagadates—the Persian Baga-dâta—is the son of the Babylonian Nabu-kuduri-[uẓur].

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[37] See the *Encycl. Bibl.*, article "Maccabees," § 1, col. 2851, where I have tried to show that the names Judah, Simon, Eleazar, Jonathan, etc., were the official names adopted by the Hasmonean princes, not the names given them by their father.

The Babylonians, indeed, seem to have been as numerous at Syênê as the Persians, and like them could hold official posts." But this is, I think, a mistaken view, even where the Jews are not concerned at all. Even in those days, a name was common property, to some extent, and available for any who fancied it. In regard to Jewish names Cowley says (*ibid.*, p. 37): "The name of Hosea's father, Peti-khnûm, *the gift of Khnûm*, seems to imply that the son was a Jewish proselyte. . . . . In mediaeval and modern times, however, it is customary to find Jews using two names, one Hebrew and one vernacular for ordinary purposes. Possibly the practice had already begun,[38] and Peti-khnûm and As-ḥor were the non-Hebrew names borne by Jews who were rather lax in their religious views." But we are under no necessity of supposing that the men bearing these names were either gentiles or "Jews who were lax in their religious views," any more than we need suppose that every Jew named "Isidor" is either the child of Egyptian parents or else a worshiper of Isis! Of course it is true that the population of the large cities both in Egypt and in Palestine at this time was a mixture of many races and nationalities; it is also true, doubtless, that some attention was paid to the etymology of names. *As a rule*, Persians bore Persian names, Jews Hebrew names, and so on; but considerable latitude must be left for exceptions to the rule. Sachau, *Papyrusurkunden*, p. 37, writes: "Wenn nun Sanaballaṭ seinen Söhnen judäische Namen gab, so war er vermutlich von Geburt ein Nichtjudäer, der später zum Judentum übergetreten war, oder er war von Geburt Jude und hatte wegen irgendeiner Rücksicht auf die persische Herrschaft einen babylonischen Namen angenommen. . . . . Warum Sanaballaṭ nicht gleich einen persischen Namen anstatt eines babylonischen angenommen, ist nicht ersichtlich." But it is probable that Sanaballaṭ was either a Hebrew of the North-Palestinian stock, or else of Jewish origin, and quite possible in either case that he had borne this name from his childhood. It may well be that the name was borne by many in the land, including some devout Jews.[39] "Zerubbabel" is a good Babylonian name, but was probably given, without much thought as to its etymology, to the Jewish boy at his birth. Similarly, "Sheshbazzar" had in all likelihood been naturalized as a Jewish name.

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[38] This supposition of occasional double names is correct, as the text published by Sachau shows plainly. ʿAnani (ענני), the brother of the high priest in Jerusalem, bore also the Persian name אוסתן.

Since the interpretation of not a few of the proper names in the Ezra documents depends on an understanding of the popular Jewish notions in regard to the origin and history of the Samaritans, a preliminary word on that subject will be in place.

The Samaritans claimed to be, and probably were in the main, a Hebrew people of fairly pure blood.[40] The Jews, on the contrary, maddened by the pretensions of this rival temple and its adherents, insisted that the Samaritans were no Hebrews at all. The Jewish tradition as to the origin of this northern community attached itself mainly to II Kings 17:24–41; cf. 17:3–6 and 18:9–11. The narrative as we have it is not historical, but merely fanciful, and appears to date, at least in its present form, from a time later than the Samaritan secession. Be that as it may, it is certain that the standard Jewish tradition asserted that the people who constituted the rival church were a mixed rabble brought into the land by the Assyrian king Shalmanassar. Then it was, according to the tradition, that the great transfer of peoples took place, the heathen being brought in to take the place of the deported Israelites; and the author of this deportation is always said to have been Shalmanassar (cf. Tobit 1:2, 15, 16). The manner in which Ezr. 4:9 f. attaches itself to the account given in II Kings will appear below. This being the case, the statement made in Ezr. 4:2 is very noticeable and interesting. The reason why the Chronicler should thus make the Samaritans ascribe their own deportation to *Esarhaddon* may be conjectured, however. Very likely he reasoned, shrewdly enough, that this documentary admission of their own "heathen" origin would weigh all the heavier against them if it was manifestly independent of the Jewish tradition.[41]

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[39] Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1907, p. 204, note 2, says in regard to one of the names in Nehemiah: "Ein echter Ammoniter hätte kaum טוביה geheissen." But do we know so definitely as this what an "echter Ammoniter" was, at that time, and how strict the Ammonites were in the matter of names?

[40] So modern anthropologists have generally decided.

[41] The Greek readings of the name in 4:2 are not without interest as characteristic specimens of text-corruption. The L text of Theodotion has [N]αχορδαν; the N coming from

The following is a list of the proper names which are characteristic of these Aramaic documents in Ezra:

אסנפר 4:10. So the massoretic text, with which the Egyptian Greek of Ezra, Ασενναφαρ, and the Vulgate, *Osnappar*, agree. There is some evidence, however, that this was *not* the reading of the Aramaic text from which Theodotion made his version, early in the second century A. D. The L text gives here Σαλμανασσάρης. This is hardly a correction, for the connection with the narrative in II Kings is not a necessary one; moreover, the occurrence of the name Αχορδαν in the parallel verse 2, just above, shows that no *theory* was at work here. The I Esdras fragment does not contain the passage, which seems to have been interpolated after the time when the old Greek translation was made (see below). In all probability, Josephus had a Greek version of it before him when he wrote, judging from the words οὓς . . . . ἀγαγὼν Σαλμανασσάρης . . . . κατῴκισεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ (*Antt.* xi, 2, 1). On the basis of this evidence, as well as on the ground of general probability, we may venture to restore "Shalmanassar." From the form שמנסר[42] came אמנסר, and then אסנפר, these changes being only such as have occurred many times over in the proper names of this book. The Egyptian Greek here is the result of correction to correspond with the corrupt reading of our MT.

אפרסיא 4:9. The gentilic name of the people of a certain "nation" (אֻמָּא) from which the Samaritans had been

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the preceding ἡμερῶν, and the Αχορδαν being a careless haplogram of Ασορχαδαν (cf. the Vulgate *Asorhaddon*). The reading of the I Esdr. fragment was Ασβασαρεθ(!), which originated as follows: In the old Greek version אסרחדן was transliterated by ασαρεθων (or doubtless originally ασαρεδων), and this in the process of transmission lost the ambiguous ending ων and received at the beginning an increment which may have been due to dittography, but in which the recollection of the name Σασαβασσαρ also exercised its influence. The close relationship among the various Hexaplar texts is well illustrated here, both of the blunders in Ασβακαφαθ (codd. B, N, and the Ethiopic) being reproduced, with one extra one, in ܐܣܠܩܦܠ. Cod. A has the correct reading. The L text gives Αχορδαν, a conspicuous example of contamination from the canonical Greek.

[42] It is natural to suppose that the ל was as commonly omitted as the λ was in the Greek. In II Kings 17:3, B has Σαμενασσαρ; in 18:9, A has Σαμανασσαρ. In Tobit 1:2, 15, 16, both recensions read [Σ]ενεμεσσαρ (the Σ from the word ἡμέραις immediately preceding in two of the three passages). In I Esdr. 2:11, 14; 6:17, 19, where the Syrian text substitutes "Shalmanassar" for "Sanabassar," Origen's text had Σαμανασσαρ in 2:11 and 14.

recruited. Probably "Persians," the initial א having been transposed by accident from the preceding word.

אפרסתכיא 4:9. Another gentilic adjective. Created (on the basis of the word אפרסכיא, 5:6; 6:6) by the interpolator of 4:9 f., in the manner described below.

ארכוי[א] Another of the names in the list of 4:9. "Men of Erech;" perhaps originally אַרְכָיֵי (for ־ֵיא)?

ארתחשׂסתא, 7:12 (cf. 7:1; Neh. 2:1, etc.). The form used in the massoretic tradition to designate Artaxerxes II Mnemon; see the name below.

ארתחששׂתא 4:8, 11, 23. The massoretic way of writing the name of Artaxerxes I Longimanus; that of Artaxerxes II (in Ezr., chaps. 7, 8; Neh., chaps. 2, 5, 13) being always written with ס. Contrast with this the spelling of the name in the Jewish papyri of the fifth century B. C., found in Egypt, where it is always written ארתחשסש; so also on the stele from Assuan, *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, 438, l. 4.[43]

בבליא A gentilic name from the list in 4:9. "Men from Babylon."

דיניא 4:9. Originally the noun "judges," *which had been interpolated in the Aramaic text of 4:11 which lay before the "I Esdras" translator;* see below. Thence made into a gentilic adjective by the author and interpolator of vss. 9 f.; cf. the note on אפרסתכיא.

דריוש 4:24; 5:5; 6:1, etc. Darius (Nothus, according to the view of these Jewish writers). Compare the Egyptian spelling דריוהוש, occurring uniformly in the Jewish Aramaic papyri from Egypt.[44]

טרפליא Gentilic name from the list in 4:9. The only name of a locality which seems to meet the requirements is Τετράπολις. This included Antioch, Seleucia, Apamea, and Laodicea (Strabo, xvi, 749, 750); a region which we should expect to see represented here, since according to II Kings 17:24

[43] It must be remembered, however, that this is the Egyptian form of the name, corresponding to the manner of writing it in the hieroglyphic characters. The form given us by the massoretes differs only slightly from those which we find in the cuneiform records: *Artakšatsu* (KB iv, 312, 4), *Artakšassu* (Stevenson, *Assyr. and Bab. Contracts*, 198, No. 40, 7), etc.

[44] Notice also, in this connection, that the "documents" in Ezra use the late and incorrect form נבוכדנצר, written with נ, which prevailed in the Greek period. So in all three of the passages (5:12, 14; 6:5) where the name occurs.

Shalmanassar brought the Samaritans not only from Babylonia, but also "from Hamath." The fact that the verse containing the word was interpolated at a comparatively late day makes it easy to accept this Greek name.

רחום 4:8, 17, 23. The name of the בעל טעם, or "reporter" of the affairs of the province, who dwelt in Samaria in the time of Artaxerxes I. An Aramaic name, and one which the Chronicler is fond of inserting in his lists. The form Ῥάθυμος, found in I Esdras, is the result of corruption in the Greek, PAOYMOC becoming PAΘYMOC.

שׁושׁנכיא Still another gentilic name from the list in 4:9. Apparently "men from Susa." The form is interesting, if the כ really stands for the Persian suffix *-ka*.

שׁמשׁי 4:8, 17, 23. Name of the secretary who was associated with Reḥūm. Evidently the same name as the Babylonian *Šamaš-a-a*, found in Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts*, No. 37, l. 17. It also appears in Syria at a later day. The I Esdras reading Σαμέλλιος came from CAMЄΛΙOC = CAMCAIOC; i. e., a copyist carelessly put the cross-bar in the wrong letter.

שׁשבצר 5:14, 16. I have already discussed this name at length, in dealing with the first chapter of Ezra, and have shown that the I Esdras reading "Sanabassar" is the result of early Greek corruption from Σασαβασσαρ. Probably a naturalized Jewish name.

שתרבוזני 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13. This is probably a miswriting of the Persian name שתברזן, Satibarzanes, which appears in the Assuan papyri (Cowley's A, l. 16, possibly also E, l. 18). Perhaps, however, (א)שתר, *Ištar*, + בוזני, the Persian ending which appears in the Greek transcription Μιθροβουζανης, Diod. Sic. xvii, 21, 3; Arrian, *Anab.*, i, 16, 3. As for the proposal to emend here to מתר׳, it is not even probable that this Jewish narrative was ever written in the old Hebrew characters. It is uncertain, and a matter of small importance, whether the narrator wished to represent the bearer of this name as a Persian or as a Samaritan of Persian extraction, but the latter is more likely.

תתני 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13. A Babylonian name. The equivalent of the *Taddannu* which is found in Babylonian records of the time of Nabunaid and Cyrus (Muss-Arnolt, *Dictionary*, pp. 1148 f.). That the form *Tattannu* also existed may be taken for granted, since the verb *natānu* (for *nadānu*) is common, and found also in proper names.[45] Originally an abbreviated (hypocoristic) form, cf. the name *Nabū-taddannu*, Muss-Arnolt, *loc. cit.* The pronunciation of the name is correctly transmitted by the massoretes. That the Θαθθαναι of cod. A and its fellows is Theodotion's own transliteration needs no argument; the forms Θανθαναι, Τανθαναι, etc., are arbitrary improvements. The old Greek translator (represented by I Esdras), who was a well-read man, conjectured Σισίννης, but the conjecture is of no value for us.[46]

The names בשלם, מתרדת, and טבאל, 4:6 (MT 7), may also be mentioned here, though they occur in a verse (the Chronicler's) which is not written in Aramaic. בשלם is apparently the Babylonian name *Bēl-šallim;*[47] cf. *Nabū-šallim* (Stevenson, *Assyr. and Bab. Contracts*, p. 148), *Sin-šallimani* (Muss-Arnolt, p. 1042), etc. The original "I Esdras" transliteration was Βισλεμος or Βησλεμος, and the σ was accidentally dropped by a copyist. The "Βεέλσιμος" of the I Esdras L text is a flagrant instance of textual contamination, since it is merely one of the corrupt variants of the transliteration of בעל טעם: Βεέλτεμος, -ζεμος, -σεμος; which are found here even in the apparatus of Niese's Josephus. As for the other two names: מתרדת, Mithradates, is Persian, and is employed by the Chronicler also in Ezr. 1:8; טבאל, *Tāb-'ēl*, is Aramaic, and occurs also in Isaiah 7:6.

[45] Since this was written, I have seen Clay's article, "Aramaic Indorsements on the Documents of the Murašū Sons," in the *O. T. and Sem. Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, Vol. I (1908), pp. 287–321. The name given in his No. 18 (pp. 293, 306) is the very one which is needed. The document is dated in the second year of Darius II, and the name is *Tattannu*, writen תתן in the accompanying Aramaic characters.

[46] Cowley, *Assuan Papyri*, p. 42, writes: "Two Babylonian contracts of the first and third years of Darius describe Tatnai as *governor of Ebir-nâri.*" This is a mistake, based on a conjectural emendation of our text which never had any probability.

[47] By supposing an Aramaic name *Bēl-šalām*, "Bēl is peace," we could retain the massoretic pointing, בִּשְׁלָם. But we have thus far no entirely satisfactory analogies for such a name.

It may be merely accidental, but it is certainly worthy of notice, that in each one of these enumerations by name of the enemies of the Jews, the names are such as to point to as many different nationalities as possible. In 5:3, etc., Tattenai is Babylonian and Satibarzanes is Persian; in 4:8, etc., Reḥūm is native Aramaic, and also Jewish (and of course the Samaritan community was supposed to contain Hebrews and renegade Jews, as well as foreigners), and Shimshai is Babylonian; in 4:6 (7) Bishlam is Babylonian, Mithradath is Persian, and Tab'el is Syrian (representing apparently those Samaritans who were brought from the region of Hamath). It is true, as was pointed out above, that at the time when this was written the nationality of names counted for much less than had formerly been the case; but on the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the Jewish narrators of the time did recognize the distinction between names in this regard, and created "local color" accordingly. And it is quite certain that "even in the Hellenistic period a native of Palestine or of any other country inhabited by Jews might without difficulty have collected a large number of Persian names" (Nöldeke, *Encyl. Bibl.*, article "Esther," § 3).

2. *The Foreign Words*

What has just been said in regard to Persian names is also true of other Persian words. The Chronicler, or the author of Daniel, or any other story-teller of the Greek period in Jerusalem, could easily procure as many of these words as he wished to use. When it is observed how much fewer in proportion these Persisms are in the Jewish papyri of Egypt than they are in the Aramaic of Ezra and Daniel, the conclusion lies near at hand that our narrators introduced at least some of them for effect.

The nature and manner of use of one or two of the words, moreover, point in the same direction. Such a common word as the adverb "diligently" need not have been borrowed by the Aramaic from any foreign source; yet we find it eight times, in these Ezra documents, expressed by the one or the other of two curious Persian (?) words which are otherwise unknown. It is hard to believe that this represents the actual usage of any period of Jewish (or any other) Aramaic. If the adverb occurred only once or twice we might not look on it with suspicion, but this obvious parading of it can hardly be accidental.

It is perhaps not surprising, on any theory, that the origin of about one half of these foreign words should remain more or less obscure. It is usually only the etymology which is uncertain, however, for the meaning is made plain by the context in nearly every case. The most of the words which can be recognized are Persian or Babylonian; two or three are Greek; of the remainder, nothing can be said with confidence at present.

אדרזדא 7:23. An adverb, meaning "diligently, zealously," as the context shows. It looks like a Persian word, but no plausible explanation of it has been given thus far. It seems to be the equivalent of אספרנא; see below.

אספרנא 5:8; 6:8, 12, 13; 7:17, 21, 26. Also an adverb, with the same meaning as the preceding—and no other meaning will fit all the places where it occurs. The I Esdras translator renders both alike by ἐπιμελῶς. The word is otherwise unknown, and the attempted explanations of it are far-fetched. We are certainly not justified in connecting it with the problematic word in the Aramaic inscription, *CIS*, II, 108. The reading of the word there (generally given as אספרן) is by no means assured; the sense of the whole inscription is unknown; and the meaning "exact," usually postulated there, will not do at all in the Ezra passages.

אפרסכיא 5:6; 6:6. An *official title* of the governors of the Transflumen, of whom Tattenai was one. Apparently the Aramaic plural of the naturalized Greek word ἔπαρχος, the כ and ס being transposed (naturally; as in Al-iskandar for Alexander, etc.), and the plural ending added in the usual way. These are the פַּחֲוֺת עבר הנהר, "the eparchs of the Transflumen," Ezr. 8:36; Neh. 2:7, 9, and ἔπαρχος is the usual equivalent (cf. "die ständige Bezeichnung," Meyer, *Entstehung*, 32, note) of פחה.[48] It is quite likely that the author of these documents supposed this to be a Persian word.

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[48] That Tattenai is thought of here as *the satrap* of the whole Transflumen, is of course not the case. He was the "governor" of his province, just as Zerubbabel, at the same time,

אפתם 4:13. From the context, evidently a feminine noun signifying "revenue," as scholars have generally agreed. The suggestion of Andreas, "damage" (!), in Marti's glossary, is plainly impossible. Neither the old Greek translator nor Theodotion ventured to render the word. I have no doubt that it is a Greek technical term; either *ἐπίταξις*, "taxation," or *ἐπίθεσις*, "impost," either one of which words might have been transliterated in this way. In favor of the former might be cited the passage Herod. iii, 89, where, in speaking of the imposition of tribute by Darius upon the various divisions of the Persian empire, the phrase *ἡ ἐπίταξις τοῦ φόρου* is used. But the terms *ἐπιτιθέναι*, *ἐπίθεσις*, are also used technically in speaking of the "imposition" of tribute, fines, and the like, and in view of the *exact* transliteration of the latter word it is to be preferred. This explains the gender of the verb תהנזק; the phrase אפתם מלכין (notice that it is not מלכא or מלכיא) means *ἡ βασιλικὴ ἐπίθεσις*, "the royal taxation," and the gender of the borrowed word is retained, as usual. Here, again, it is quite likely that the Aramaic narrator did not know the origin of the term, but supposed it to be Persian. It is barely possible that the writing with פ is due to a reminiscence of the sound of the Greek *π*. As for the vowel pointing אַפְּתֹם, it is exactly as valuable as that of קַתְרֹס, for *κίθαρις*, in Dan. 3:5, 7, 10.

אשרנא 5:3, 9. A good illustration of the relative excellency of MT, inasmuch as both the old Greek translator and Theodotion (versions nearly or quite three hundred years apart) had the word before them in the form אגרא; the former as אִגָּרָא, *στέγη*, "roof," and the latter as אַגְרָא, *χορηγία*, "outlay" (for hired labor). So long, therefore, as the word given in MT remained otherwise unattested, the only safe critical procedure was to adopt the reading אגרא. But now the word אשרנא has again come to light in the

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was governor (פחה, 6:7) in Judea, as Sheshbazzar had been previously (5:14), and as Bagohi is said in the Sachau papyri to have been the פחת יהוד in the years 411–408. The narrator uses the term אֲפַרְסְכָיֵא, *ἔπαρχοι*, here in the same way that his immediate successor, the Chronicler, uses the equivalent terms in his "Ezra Memoirs," 8:36, where Ezra, after arriving in Jerusalem, hands over the decrees of the king לאחשדרפני המלך ופחוות עבר הנהר.

papyri published by Sachau, the reading being quite certain. In the Egyptian document (*Drei aram. Papyrusurkunden*, I, 11) it signifies a part (just which part, is not clear) of the temple at Elephantine; in the Ezra passages, also, it has always been evident that it stands for a part of the temple at Jerusalem. I believe that the word means "*colonnade;*" that it is the same as the שׂרן of the Bod-ʿaštart inscription, *CIS*, I, 4, l. 4; and that it is probably to be connected with the Assyrian word *šurinnu.*[49] In the description of the destruction of the Jewish temple in Egypt, first the inner sanctuary is mentioned, with its pillars; then the gates, with their doors; then the roofing, made of beams of cedar; then "the rest of[50] the portico," שׂירית אשרנא, "and whatever else was there." The phrase "and the columns which were there," used in speaking of the sanctuary proper, may perhaps be taken to imply that there were other columns elsewhere, namely in the outer court. As for the context in Ezra, it is at least natural to suppose that there an important and conspicuous part of the whole structure is meant. Point perhaps אֻשׁרֵנָא? I am of course fully aware of the precarious character of these conclusions.

בלו Only in the standing phrase מנדה בלו והלך, 4:13, 20; 7:24. בלו is not to be separated from the Babylonian *abālu*, though the precise nature of the form is still uncertain (perhaps a colloquially shortened form—in this phrase—of בְּלוֹת = *bilâti?*). מִנְדָּה is also a Babylonian loan-word, *mandattu*, as is well known. Also in the form מִדָּה, 6:8; Neh. 5:4. הֲלָךְ, judging from its etymology, means *custom*, "gäng und gebe," binding usage (as regards tribute); cf. הֲלָכָה, and the English word "custom" meaning tax. It is not likely that it has anything to do with roads, as some have supposed. Probably *not* a loan-word from the Babylonian, though the latter appears to have some closely analogous usage, cf. especially the various uses of *ilku*.

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[49] I have previously suggested the connection of the Phoenician word with the Assyrian; *Journal of the Am. Or. Society*, Vol. XXIII, 1902, pp. 171 f.

[50] So read and interpreted by Fraenkel, *Theol. Litz.*, 23 Nov., 1907, and Nöldeke, *ZA*, XXI, 199, while Sachau reads שׂידית.

גִּזְבָר 7:21. The Persian word "treasurer;" possibly borrowed through the Babylonian, where it also appears.[51]

דָת 7:12, 14, 21, 25, 26. The Persian word "law." Also used in the Aramaic of Daniel.

הלך Possibly borrowed? See the note on בלו.

מנדה See the note on בלו.

נשתון 4:18, 23; 5:5. Also, in Hebrew, 4:7; 7:11. A noun meaning "letter;" origin not yet satisfactorily explained. The resemblance to old Persian *nipištam*, modern Persian نِوِشْت, "writing," is too close to be accidental. Possibly the result of writing down an unfamiliar word from hearsay?

פַּרְשֶׁגֶן 4:11, 23; 5:6. Also, in Hebrew, 7:11 and (in the form פתשׁגן) Esther 3:14; 4:8; 8:13. Apparently a genuine Persian loan-word, "copy;" but the origin of the form, and the relation to that found in Esther, are not yet clear.

פִּתְגָם 4:17; 5:7, 11; 6:11. Also Dan. 3:16; 4:14, and (Hebrew) Esth. 1:20; Eccles. 8:11; very common in later Aramaic and classical Syriac. It is an exact synonym of דבר, i. e. "*word*," which is occasionally weakened to "thing." It does not mean "answer," nor "decree," nor "message," as is often affirmed; and it thus stands at some distance, both in meaning and in form, from the modern Persian *paighām*, "message" (the "old Persian *patighāma*," from *patigam*, "arrive," has not actually been found). The hypothesis of a Greek loan-word, namely φθέγμα, "word, utterance," is more probable on all grounds. The Greek translators render פתגם regularly by ῥῆμα and λόγος; the word in its Syriac form is also used ordinarily to translate λόγος, ῥῆμα, ἔπος, φθόγγος, φθογγή, φθέγμα (Syr.-Hex. in Job 6:26, Wisd. 1:11).

Of the words discussed in the preceding list, at least four are Persian; three (possibly four) are Babylonian; three are Greek; two are altogether unknown, but seem more likely to be Persian (if they are genuine words) than anything else. Counting all their occurrences, they appear in these few chapters more than forty times, a very noteworthy fact. Such well-known and understood loan-words as אִגּרה, גנזא, היכל, פחה, which have been truly adopted by the Aramaic, are left out of consideration.

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[51] As *ganzabaru;* Peiser, in *ZATW* (1897), p. 347. The massoretic pointing is therefore of doubtful value; see also Andreas, in Marti's glossary.

V. THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF 4:6–11

The restoration of vss. 6–11 which is given here is substantially the same as that which I made in 1895, and printed in my *Composition of Ezra*, p. 6. The principal difference is in the treatment of vs. 8, which I formerly regarded as made up of two parts, namely, (1) the proper names which had been pushed out of vs. 7, and (2) a clause which had originally stood at the end of vs. 10, but was now transposed by the copyist in order to repair the damage which he had done. On further consideration, it has seemed to me that the true explanation is simpler than this, and that vs. 8, in exactly its present wording, originally formed the beginning of the document incorporated by the Chronicler. The conclusion follows of necessity, that the vss. 9–10 are an interpolation; for it is quite obvious that the man who wrote vs. 8 cannot have written the first words of vs. 9 as its continuation. The incorporated narrative, moreover, is not very likely to have begun with the word אדין; but this would have been a natural way of beginning the interpolation, which is, indeed, made in the easiest possible manner. I have always believed the list of names in vs. 9 (see below) to be secondary, and it was for the sake of these, and their fling at the Samaritans, that the interpolation was made. The first clause of vs. 10 is the counterpart of vs. 2β, above, and the remainder is derived from vs. 17. The first clause of vs. 11 might belong either to the interpolation or to the original document; but it is plainly better to regard it in the former way.

This restoration involves no change in the text beyond the returning of "Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabel and his companions" to vs. 6, and the filling of the gap thus made in vs. 7 with the names "Rehum the reporter and Shimshai the scribe." By my former restoration, vss. 9–11 were made to read more smoothly; but an interpolated text is not expected to be smooth. The suspended construction in vss. 9–11, אדין having no direct connection with any verb, is in no way remarkable.

The variation in the tradition of these verses afforded by the I Esdras fragment is both interesting and important. The Greek text[52] reads: [15]Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως χρόνοις κατέγραψεν αὐτῷ[53] κατὰ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ Βίσλεμος[54] καὶ Μιθριδάτης καὶ Ταβέλλιος καὶ Ραοῦμος[55] καὶ Βεέλτεμος[56] καὶ Σαμσαῖος[57] ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τούτοις συντασσόμενοι, οἰκοῦντες δὲ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις, τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην ἐπιστολήν· [16]Βασιλεῖ Ἀρταξέρξῃ κυρίῳ οἱ παῖδές σου Ραοῦμος ὁ [γράφων][58] τὰ προσπίπτοντα καὶ Σαμσαῖος ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλοιποι τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῶν κριταὶ[59] οἱ ἐν κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ. [17]καὶ νῦν γνωστὸν ἔστω κ. τ. ἑ. The omissions here are very surprising, and almost equally so are the conflations or transpositions. But the phenomena are all capable of explanation.

The portions of the Hebrew-Aramaic text of the passage which are represented in this Greek are the following: (1) *Verse 6*, or at all events *6b*, exactly reproduced.[60] In the beginning of the verse the name ארתחשׁשׂתא was probably substituted at an early date for אחשׁורושׁ, and in that case an abridged combination with vs. 7 would have been the natural result. It is perhaps useless to try to determine whether the omission of the half-verse was by accident or by design, and whether made first in the Greek or in the Hebrew; but in my own opinion it is extremely probable that the Hebrew text had been slightly edited here; see further below. (2) *Verse 7a*, every word of which is rendered, while considerable additions to it have also been made. These additions will be considered presently. The last clause of the verse, telling how the letter was "written in Aramaic and translated" (into Hebrew), is not rendered at all. This makes it certain that vs. 7*b* was not in the Hebrew text which lay before the translator. It is not the custom of this version to make omissions; the clause in question is interesting and important, and makes no difficulty; it could easily have been incorporated here. (3) The *last word* (כנמא) in *verse 8*, represented by the adjective *ὑπογεγραμμένην*. Of the rest of the verse there is no trace apparent. It was from another source that the added names in vs. 7 were derived, as will be shown. When it is further observed, that the last words in vs. 7*a* are על ארתחששתא מלך פרס, while those at the end of the omitted part of vs. 8, standing in a precisely similar context, are לארתחששתא מלכא, it is plain that the whole passage, vss. 7*b*, 8, had been accidentally lost from the "I Esdras" Hebrew through the easy mistake of a copyist. (4) *Verse 11, from* על (the beginning of the letter) *onward*. That is, the very passage, vss. 9, 10, 11*aa*, which I have already shown to be an interpolation in the Hebrew-Aramaic text is wanting here. From vs. 11*a*β onward the text is like that of the canonical recension, *except* that in place of the single word אנשׁ in vs. 11*b* the Greek has *Ραοῦμος ὁ γράφων τὰ προσπίπτοντα καὶ Σαμσαῖος ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλοιποι τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῶν κριταί*, an expansion which, like the similar one in the translation of vs. 7, evidently was made in order to restore the two (or three) names which had been accidentally lost from the text.

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[52] I have emended the Greek only at those points where the evidence seems conclusive.

[53] The Hexaplar text (inferior, as usual in the Ezra books) has αὐτῶν. So B, Syr., Eth.

[54] Perhaps originally Βίσλαμος, as α and ε interchange with great freedom in the transcripts. For the rest, see above, on the proper names. Of course η and ι were interchangeable at the volition of any scribe. It is not likely that the translator himself wrote η here.

[55] See above, on the proper names.

[56] The reading attested also by Josephus, Βεελζέμῳ.

[57] The form written by the translator. See above, on the proper names.

[58] The word γράφων, of course, stood here in the original translation, cf. vs. 21. In the I Esdras fragment it had been lost through careless transcription; Josephus had it in the text before him. The L text is arbitrarily emended, as usual.

[59] A has κραταιοὶ (the last syllable derived from the following οἱ); B and Eth. omit the word, though Syr. has it. The Egyptian recension prefixes καὶ, which Jos. and the Syrian text (Latin, L) rightly omit.

[60] The word שטנה is rendered by ἐπιστολήν, as also in Theodotion's translation.

What, then, is the history of these expansions, in the translation of vss. 7 and 11? As for the latter verse, it can hardly be doubted, first of all, that the original reading was the single word אנשׁ, as in our massoretic text. Now the words inserted in place of this in the Greek I Esdras are almost an exact rendering of a part of vs. 9, from רחום to דיניא; the conclusion might therefore seem necessary, that the translator had vss. 9 and 10 before him, but omitted all but these few words which he transposed into the latter part of vs. 11. But several considerations flatly forbid this hypothesis. In the first place, it is incredible that this translator (whose habits we know well) should omit all this important material, if he had it before him. No difficulty of the passage would have led him to discard it, of this we can be certain. As I have already observed (*Harper Memorial*, p. 78), he is sure to stick closely to a difficult or corrupt text. Again, and more important still, the word דינָיא *in its context in vss. 9 f.*, does not mean, and could not mean, κριταί. The juxtaposition with the other gentilic names, and the express statement in vs. 10 that these names, דינָיא . . . . עלמיא, are the names of "peoples," leave no room for doubt; and no translator could ever have thought of cutting off the first name in the list and rendering it "judges." The true state of the case, then, is this: vs. 9 of our canonical text was derived from the I Esdras expansion in vs. 11 (see further below), not *vice versa.* The reason why the addition to vs. 11 was made is so obvious as to need no argument. In the accidentally abridged text of this recension there was here no mention of "Rehum the reporter and Shimshai the scribe," that is, of the two officials who according to vss. 17 and 23 sent the letter, received answer to it, and took action accordingly! It was absolutely necessary, in any recension, Aramaic or Greek, that their names should appear in the introduction of the letter. The insertion had been made in the Aramaic text which our translator followed, as the κριταί shows beyond all question. The term דינָיא, as a general designation for these less usual officials, was probably the best that the editor could have chosen.[61]

But the history of the other expansion of the I Esdras text, the one in vs. 15 (= vs. 7 of the Hebrew), is essentially different. The reason for making the insertion here was the same, it is true; but in this case we have to do with the expansion of the Greek translation, not of the Semitic original. This is proved by the presence of the gloss Βεέλτεμος, which appears also in vs. 21 (= vs. 17 of the Aramaic text), the source from which the whole addition was derived. Vs. 15 (= vs. 7 of the Hebrew) was very troublesome in its abridged state, for it declared that "Bishlam, Mithredath, and Tabel" were the authors of "the following letter," *τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην ἐπιστολήν.* A translator might well allow this to pass (especially since the difficulty had been lessened by the interpolation made in the Aramaic of vs. 11), and it was in fact left untouched by our translator; but the contradiction was still so great that it could not long be permitted to stand. Hence the clause, Ραοῦμος *καὶ* Βεέλτεμος *καὶ* Σαμσαῖος *ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τούτοις συντασσόμενοι, οἰκοῦντες δὲ ἐν* Σαμαρείᾳ *καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις*, was taken over bodily from vs. 21 and inserted in vs. 15 after the other names. As for the Βεέλτεμος, it certainly did not stand in the original rendering. The translator who knew that בעל טעם meant "reporter,"[62] *ὁ γράφων τὰ προσπίπτοντα*, would not also have treated it as a proper name, and his rendering in vs. 16 shows that he did not so treat it. The gloss was made by some later hand in vs. 21, and was transferred thence to vs. 15 with the rest of the passage.

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[61] As a mere coincidence with the phrase וכנותהון דינָיא in Ezr. 4:11 ("I Esdras" version) the occurrence of the phrase וכנותה דינָיא, "and his colleagues the judges," in Cowley's papyrus B, l. 6, is interesting.

The Hebrew-Aramaic[63] text of this passage, Ezr. 4:6–12, in the I Esdras recension therefore read as follows:

[6, 7, 8] ובימֵי ארתחששׁתא מֶלך פָּרַס כָּתַב עלָיו בִּשְׁלָם מִתרדָת
טָבאֵל ושׁאָר כנָוֹתָין שִׂטְנָה על ישׁבֵי יהוּדה וירושלם כנֵמָא[64] ⊙ [11]על
ארתחשׁשׁתא מַלכָּא، עַבדיך רחוּם בעֵל טעֵם ושִׁמשַׁי סָפרא ושׁאָר
כנָוָתְהוֹן[65] דִּינָיֵא די בַעֲבַר נַהרה[66] ⊙ [12] וכעֶנֶת׃ (12) ידִיעַ לֶהֱוֵא וגו׳.

This text differs from the massoretic in the following particulars: (1) Vss. 6 and 7 have been editorially combined, as already stated; (2) Vss. 7*b* and 8 (except the last word) have been lost by the accident of transcription mentioned above; (3) Vss. 9, 10, 11*αa*, interpolated by a later hand in our massoretic text, are wanting here; (4) The editor has made the (absolutely necessary) insertion in vs. 11 very skilfully.

The Greek translator reproduced his original *verbatim*, as usual; and his rendering here has come down to us intact excepting one particular, namely, that at a later day some one found it necessary to harmonize vs. 15 (=vss. 6, 7) with its context by inserting in it a paraphrase—almost word for word—of the greater part of vs. 21.

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[62] See the note on the translation of 4:7 (8).

[63] The material out of which the introductory verse was made was undoubtedly left just as it was: all Hebrew with the exception of the last word, כנמא.

[64] This word certainly stood in the text. When the copyist's eye strayed from the king's name in vs. 7 to the same name in vs. 8, it caught this preparatory word also.

[65] The same form which occurs (correctly) in both vss. 17 and 23. The translator, who had just rendered the phrase in the preceding sentence, now varies the rendering on literary grounds, as he frequently does elsewhere.

[66] The שלם was missing here, as well as in the canonical version.

Finally, as to the verses, 9, 10, 11*aa*, which have been interpolated in our massoretic text. They were written by some one who had before him both recensions of the Hebrew-Aramaic (namely, the original form and the I Esdras form), and whose purpose was to deal the Samaritans a more telling blow. The interpolator saw the opportunity of showing still farther, in the introduction to this official document, what a mixed rabble the Samaritans really were, by naming some of the regions from which Shalmaneser[67] had brought them. That his knowledge of geography and history was not very extensive is at least suggested by the last four names in the list, "Persians, people of Erech, Babylonians, people of Susa (who are Elamites)." As for the טרפליא, they are presumably "people of Tetrapolis," as has already been shown. But it is most important of all to observe that *the two first names in the list*, namely דיניא and אפרס(ת)כיא, are the words used in the documents themselves (as they lay before the interpolator) to designate these enemies of the Jews; namely in 4:11 (I Esdras original); 5:6; 6:6. Whether the interpolator recognized them as official titles or not, it is at all events certain that he proceeded to use them as gentilic names, thus completing his curious list. Moreover, by the continuation in vs. 10, "and the rest of the peoples," etc., he leaves abundant room for still other heathen ancestors of the rival community.

The way in which the interpolation was made is as simple as possible. The text used as the basis was of course the more complete and (obviously) more correct one. For the beginning of the insertion, the secondary clause in the I Esdras text of vs. 11 (see above) was adopted *verbatim*, and the description of these "associates" was then continued in the manner just described. The whole was introduced by the word אדין; it is hard to imagine any other way in which the interpolation could have been effected so easily.

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[67] See above, on the proper name אסנפר.

VI. THE TEXT OF THE PASSAGES

Our massoretic text of these Aramaic passages in Ezra is very well preserved, in the main. It has retained some old forms and readings which had disappeared both from Theodotion's text and from the original of the "I Esdras" recension. Even the vowel-pointing is usually (but of course not always) trustworthy, in these Aramaic passages. For the interpretation of the text, the old Greek translation, of which we now have only the fragments preserved in I Esdras, is very valuable because of its great age. It was made about three centuries earlier than that of Theodotion (our "canonical" version), at a time when many words and matters were still familiar which soon after ceased to be understood.

On the system of punctuation adopted for the text here printed, see this *Journal*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 10 ff.

SAMARITAN INTRIGUES AGAINST THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE

(Ezr. 4:4—6:19)

The Chronicler (Hebrew)

4[4] ויהי עַם הארץ[a] מְרַפִּים ידי עַם יהודה, ומבַהלים אותם
לִבנות ⊙ [5]וסֹכרים עליהם יועצים[b] לְהָפֵר עֲצָתָם, כל ימי כורש[c]

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[a] The manner in which this phrase is frequently replaced by עמי הארצות, in the Chronicler's narrative (see my *Composition*, p. 18), may show us his idea of the population of Palestine in that day. The returning Jewish exiles had as their neighbors (aside from Phoenicians, Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, etc.) merely the motley throng of heathen "peoples of the lands" brought in by the Assyrians. When he uses the term he has the Samaritans in mind.

[b] As Bertholet and others have remarked, these "counselors" are thought of as at the Persian court. I believe that the Chronicler had in mind some of the ministers of the king, using the term יועצים exactly as he does in I Chron. 27:33, Ezr. 7:14, 15 (Aramaic), 28; 8:25.

[c] The purpose of the Chronicler to make his history con-

מלך פָּרַס [d] ועד מלכוּת דריוש מלך פרס [d] ⊙
[6] ובמלכוּת אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ, בתחִלַּת מלכותוֹ, כָּתבוּ [e] בִּשְׁלָם מִתְרְדָת
טָבְאֵל [e] וּשְׁאָר כְּנָוֺתָיו [f] שִׂטְנָה על ישְׁבֵי יהוּדה וירוּשלם ⊙
[7] ובימֵי אֲרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתְּא [g] כָּתַב רחוּם בְּעֵל טְעֵם [h] וּשִׁמְשַׁי [i] הַסָּפֵר [k] על

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tinuous, in this verse and those which follow, is quite unmistakable—and he would have damaged his own work seriously, at this point, if he had not done so! During the reign of Cyrus, high Persian officials, bribed for the purpose, managed to stop the building of the temple. Then followed, *immediately*, the reign of Xerxes, at the very "beginning" of which Bishlam and his associates wrote their effective accusation.

[d] This clause is one of the remaining traces of the redactional process through which our book of Ezra has passed. When the Story of the Three Youths was interpolated and the letters 4: 6–24 (*n. b.*) were transposed, the interpolator who made the new edition left the two (now consecutive) verses 4:5 and 5:1 exactly as they were. But the necessity of putting some bridge across this gap was imperative, and our two surviving texts contain each a clause written for this purpose; namely, the one before us, and the words "and they were hindered from building until the second year of the reign of Darius" (incorrectly rendered by the Greek translator) in I Esdras 5: 70 (73). When the makers of our canonical edition cut out the Story and restored the letters to their original place, they of course left 4: 5 in its expanded form.

[e] See above, on the proper names.

[f] A genuine Aramaic word, not a loan-word.

[g] On the orthography of this name see above, the proper names.

[h] I have pointed this in the Hebrew manner, since it now stands in a Hebrew verse, as it originally stood. But it may well be that these Aramaic titles, בְּעֵל טְעֵם and סָפְרָא were retained by the Chronicler in their official Aramaic form.

[i] See above, on the proper names.

[k] See note h.

אֲרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתְּא מלך פרס، וכתָב הַנִּשְׁתְּוָן כָּתוּב אֲרָמִית וּמְתֻרְגָּם[1] ⊙

Aramaic Writer

[8]רְחוּם בְּעֵל טְעֵם וְשִׁמְשַׁי סָפְרָא כְּתַבוּ אִגְּרָא חֲדָא עַל יְרוּשְׁלֶם
לְאַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתְּא מַלְכָּא כְּנֵמָא[m] ⊙ [9]אֱדַיִן רְחוּם בְּעֵל טְעֵם וְשִׁמְשַׁי סָפְרָא
וּשְׁאָר כְּנָוָתְהוֹן، דִּינָיֵא[n] וַאֲפַרְסַתְכָיֵא טַרְפְּלָיֵא פָּרְסָיֵא[o] אַרְכְּוָיֵא[p] בָבְלָיֵא
שׁוּשַׁנְכָיֵא، דִּי הוּא[q] עֵלְמָיֵא ⊙ [10]וּשְׁאָר אֻמַּיָּא דִּי הַגְלִי שַׁלְמֶנֶסֶר[r] רַבָּא וְיַקִּירָא،
וְהוֹתֵב הִמּוֹ בְּקִרְיָה[s] דִּי שָׁמְרָיִן וּשְׁאָר עֲבַר נַהֲרָה[t] ⊙ [11]דְּנָה פַּרְשֶׁגֶן אִגַּרְתָּא דִּי
שְׁלַחוּ עֲלוֹהִי׃

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[1] The word ארמית, which stands here in MT, is a later addition intended to give warning (as in Dan. 2:4) that the following passage is Aramaic.

[m] The Brown-Driver-Briggs *Lexicon* says, "derivation uncertain." But where is the possibility of any uncertainty, in view of ܟܽܡܳܐ, בְּרַם, כְּלוּם, מִדַּעַם, etc., the Assyrian enclitic *-ma*, and other similar formations? I would add to the list of these *ma*-forms ܩܢܘܡܐ, "person" or "face" (Guidi, *I sette dormienti*, p. 19, l. 7) = [*εἰ*]*κών* + *ma*. I believe that we have the original *'kōn*, fully naturalized, in the Ešmunʿazar inscription, ll. 4, 20, כָּן מִי אַתְּ, "who*soever* thou art;" cf. the Tabnit inscription, l. 3, and the two Nerab inscriptions, I, l. 5 and II, l. 8.

[n] On the peculiar history of this word and the one which follows it, see above, pp. 253 f.

[o] The א which stands at the beginning of this word in MT is the result of a copyist's mistake; see above.

[p] Probably אַרְכָּיֵא, as suggested above?

[q] MT דֶּהָיֵא. This explanatory clause is not necessarily the work of a later hand; the original narrator himself occasionally wishes to explain a word or a phrase. Cf. Wright's *Joshua the Stylite*, 9, 16, which is an exact parallel.

[r] MT אסנפר; see above, on the proper names.

[s] Should this be pronounced קְרָיָה? It is at all events *plural*, i. e., the collective noun regularly used in Syriac, ܩܘܪܝܐ. It cannot possibly be the undetermined singular here (as in vs. 15, קריא), and the determined singular, קריתא, occurs seven times over in this chapter. שמרין here is *the province of Samaria;* moreover, this whole phrase is a direct quotation of the twice

עַל אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתְּא מַלְכָּא, עַבְדָיךְ אֱנָשׁ עֲבַר נַהֲרָה[u] ⊙ [12] וּכְעֶנֶת[v]:
(12) יְדִיעַ לֶהֱוֵא[w] לְמַלְכָּא, דִּי יְהוּדָיֵא דִּי סְלִקוּ מִן לְוָתָךְ עֲלֶינָא אֲתוֹ;
לִירוּשְׁלֶם[x] קִרְיְתָא מָרָדְתָּא וּבְאִישְׁתָּא בָּנַיִן, וְשׁוּרַיָּא אֲשַׁכְלִלוּ[y] וְאֻשַּׁיָּא
יַחִטוּ[z] ⊙ [13] כְּעַן יְדִיעַ לֶהֱוֵא לְמַלְכָּא, דִּי הֵן קִרְיְתָא דָךְ תִּתְבְּנֵא

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occurring phrase וַיֵּשְׁב[ם] בערי שמרון, in the all-important "Samaritan passage" II Kings 17: 24, 26. Observe that even Theodotion and Jerome render by the plural: *ἐν πόλεσιν τῆς Σομορών*, *in civitatibus Samariae.*

[t] MT adds **וכענת**, evidently derived by a copyist's mistake from the following verse.

[u] Since the שׁלם is missing in both MT and I Esdras, I have not ventured to insert it, though it seems to me most likely that it was in the original text. It is probably merely an accidental coincidence that the same word has disappeared from 7: 12, where it certainly once stood.

[v] My explanation of this word as the equivalent of أَمَّا بعد, *Journ. Bib. Lit.*, 1897, pp. 166 ff., has been proved correct by the Egyptian papyri. In the letter published by Sachau, *Drei aram. Papyrusurkunden*, I, 4, II, 2, the word occurs in exactly this usage, while the full form **כענת** is found in the papyri published by Cowley.

[w] In the Egyptian papyri, this form is written everywhere יהוה, not as in Ezra and Daniel.

[x] This seems the most probable way of connecting this word, especially in view of the absence of any demonstrative pronoun after it.

[y] MT has ושורי אשכללו, and would transpose the א to the preceding word, leaving the verb in the perfect tense. It is plain from vs. 13, however, that the perfect cannot have been intended. I believe that this is one of the many cases in which initial י and א interchange phonetically, and that the form is really imperf. third person plural. Cf. Dalman, *Gramm.*², p. 252, and the well-known state of the case in classical Syriac. This imperfect, like the one which follows it, doubtless ended in *ū*.

[z] The word should be written יַחִטוּ (=יַחֲטוּ), without the י.

ושׁוּריא יִשְׁתַּכְלְלוּן ، מִנְדָּה בלוֹ והֲלָךְ[a] לא יִנְתְּנוּן ، וְאֶפְּתֶם[b] מלכין[c]
תְּהַנְזִק[d] ⊙ [14]כְּעַן כָּל[e] קֳבֵל די מלח הֵיכלא מלַחנא ، ועַרְוַת מלכא
לא אַרִיךְ לָנָא למחזֵא ، על דנה שְׁלַחנא והוֹדַעְנא[f] למלכא ، ⊙ [15]די

It is a *haph'el* imperfect from the root חטט, corresponding to the Arabic حطّ (not خطّ), and with exactly the same meaning, "lay." The I Esdras translation, ὑποβάλλονται, is not a bad rendering. The *first* stem of the Arabic verb is used both transitively ("lay") and intransitively ("come down"). The *fourth* stem also is used with the meaning "put down, lay," just as the corresponding form, the *haph'el*, is used here in Aramaic. The verb is common in Arabic, but has not thus far been found elsewhere in the cognate languages.

[a] On these three words see above, the section dealing with the foreign words.

[b] The Greek ἐπίθεσις; see above, on the foreign words. MT אַפְּתֹם.

[c] The final ם in MT is probably a mere copyist's error for ן. We have no other evidence of an Aramaic plur. in *-īm*. This is not a Hebraism.

[d] This *haph'el* has two uses: the one causative, as in vss. 15, 22; the other signifying to come into the condition (viz., of deterioration), as this stem is so frequently used in Semitic. Cf. the two uses of הצלח, Dan. 3:30 and 6:29. The fem. form here because of the (Greek) fem. noun; see above.

[e] It is often said (e. g., by Marti, *Gramm.*, p. 98; Strack, *Gramm.*, p. 56; Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Lexicon*) that this is wrongly divided and pointed, and that the form should be כְּלָקֳבֵל. But this is not true; the massoretes have divided and pointed correctly. The shifting of the vowel is very natural, and has many analogies; and as for the division, it is not a whit more remarkable than in שֶׁל, Eccles. 8:17, cf. Jonah 1:7, 8; or דיל (as a separate word) in the Palmyrene inscriptions; or than in مِلْ أَشياء, for مِنَ الأ (Nöldeke, *Delectus vet. carm. arab.*, 10, 4; Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philol.*, II, p. xiv). These are local and temporary habits of orthography.

[f] The epistolary perfect; "we *hereby* send and make known."

יבַקְּרוּ[g] בספַר דָכְרָנַיא[h] די אבהתךְ؛ וּתהַשׁכח בספר דכרניא ותִנדע،
די קריתא דך קִריא מָרָדא ומהַנזקַת מַלכין ומדינָן، ואֶשׁתַּדּוּר[i]
עָבדין בגַוַּהּ מן יוֹמָת עָלמא؛ על דנה קריתא דך הָחָרבַת ⊙
[16] מהוֹדעין אנַחנה למלכא، די הֵן קריתא דך תִתבנֵא ושוּריא
ישׁתַּכללוּן، לָקֳבֵל דנה חלָק בעבַר נַהרא לא אִתַי לךְ ⊙
[17] פִּתגָמא[k] שְׁלַח מלכא: על רחוּם בעֵל טעֵם، ושִׁמשַׁי סָפרא،
ושאָר כנָוָתהון[l] די יָתבין בשָׁמרַיִן[m] ושאר עבַר נהרה، שְׁלָם ⊙
[18] וּכעֶת[n]: (18) נִשׁתְּוָנא די שְׁלַחתוּן עלינא מְפָרַשׁ[o] קְרִי קדָמָי ⊙
[19] וּמִנִּי שִׂים טעֵם، וּבַקַּרוּ והַשׁכחוּ די קריתא דך מן יוֹמָת עָלמא
על מלכין מִתנַשְּׂאָה، וּמרַד ואֶשׁתַּדּוּר מתעֶבֶד בַּהּ ⊙ [20] וּמַלכין
תַּקִּיפִין הווֹ על ירוּשׁלֶם، ושַׁלִּיטִין בכל עבר נהרה، וּמִנדה בלוֹ
והֲלָךְ מִתיְהֵב להון ⊙ [21] כעַן שִׂימוּ טעם לבַטָּלא גֻבריא אִלֵּךְ؛
וקריתא דך לא תתבנֵא، עד מִנִּי טַעמא יִתְּשָׂם ⊙ [22] וּזהירין הווֹ
שָׁלוּ למֶעבַד[p] על דנה؛ לְמָה יִשׂגֵּא חבָלא להַנזָקַת[q] מלכין ⊙
[23] אֱדַיִן، מן די פַּרשֶׁגֶן נִשׁתְּוָנא די ארתחשַׁשְׂתא מלכא קְרִי קדָם

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[g] MT יבקר, but this is shown to be wrong by the suffix at the end of the clause. The form adopted (which might be either indicative or jussive) is better than יבקרוּן.

[h] ספַר דָכְרָן, "record-book," cf. Mal. 3:16, is virtually a compound word (Marti, *Gramm.*, §117; Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gramm.*, §124, 2), and this is its plural, "record-books." So the old Greek translator and Jerome, rightly. Other plur. compounds of this same sort in 5:17; 6:1.

[i] Apparently an example of initial א replacing the more original ה. See above, on the language of these documents.

[k] Probably a naturalization of the Greek *φθέγμα*; see above.

[l] The suffix by no means to be altered to the second person; see the note on 6:6.

[m] Not the city, but the province.

[n] This same form, and similarly used, in the letter published by Sachau, *Drei aram. Papyrusurkunden*, II, l. 2; cf. I, l. 4.

[o] Circumstantial accusative of the passive participle.

[p] Cf. the Arabic idiom, Wright, *Gramm.*, II, 27B, 304C.

[q] See above, on the Aramaic of these documents.

רחוּם וּשְׁמְשַׁי סָפְרָא וּכְנָוָתְהוֹן، אֲזַלוּ בִבְהִילוּ לִירוּשְׁלֶם עַל יְהוּדָיֵא،
וּבַטִּלוּ הִמּוֹ בְּאֶדְרָע וְחָיִל ⊙ [24]בֵּאדַיִן בְּטֵלַת עֲבִידַת בית אלהא די
בירוּשְׁלם، והֲוָת בָּטְלָא עד שְׁנַת תַּרְתֵּין למלכוּת דריוש מלך פָּרָס ⊙
5[1] והִתְנַבִּי[r] חַגַּי נְבִיאָה[s]، וּזְכַרְיָה בר עִדּוֹא، נבוּאָה[t] על יהוּדיא
די בִיהוּד ובירושלם، בְּשֻׁם אֱלָהּ ישׂראל עֲלֵיהוֹן ⊙ [2]באדין קָמוּ
זְרֻבָּבֶל בר שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל וְיֵשׁוּעַ בר יוֹצָדָק، וְשָׁרִיו[u] לְמִבְנֵא בית אלהא
די בירוּשׁלם؛ ועִמְּהוֹן נְבִיַּאיָּא די אלהא מְסַעֲדִין להון ⊙
[3]בֵּהּ זִמְנָא אֲתָה עליהון תַּתְּנַי[v]، פַּחַת עבר נהרה، ושתרבוזני[w]
וּכְנָוָתְהוֹן، וכן אמרין לְהֹם[x]: מָן שׂם לְכֹם טעם، ביתא דנה לִבְּנֵא[y]
ואשׁרנא[z] דנה לְשַׁכְלָלָה ⊙ [4]אַףּ שָׁאלִין[a] להם: מָן אִנּוּן שְׁמָהָת

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[r] The manner of the connection here is strong added evidence that 4:24 was *not* written by the Chronicler, but by the author of 4:23 and 5:1 ff.; see above.

[s] So written (*ketīb*) both here and 6:14, but probably already pronounced נְבִיָּא.

[t] The superiority of this reading would be obvious enough even if we did not have Theodotion's προφητείαν, showing that the word actually stood in his text. Cf. also 6:14.

[u] This, of course, does not imply that no building had been done before! This is the characteristic redundant use of the Aramaic verb "begin;" see this *Journal*, XXIII, 191.

[v] The Babylonian name *Tattannu*, see above.

[w] MT very likely corrupt; see above, on the proper names.

[x] This, like most of the other so-called "Hebraisms" in Ezra and Daniel, is pure Aramaic. On the whole question see now Herbert H. Powell, *The Supposed Hebraisms in . . . . Biblical Aramaic*, Berkeley, Cal., 1907.

[y] Inasmuch as this same form occurs twice in the Hadad inscription, ll. 13, 14, it is, of course, to be retained. The pointing of the massoretes is probably correct. Apparently a variation of לְמִבְנֵא, with compensatory doubling of the ב.

[z] See above, on the foreign words. Both the old Greek translator and Theodotion had אגרא before them here. Point possibly אֻשַּׁרְנָא?

[a] MT has for these two words אדין כנמא אמרנא. The second

גֻבריא די דנה בִנְיָנא בָנַיִן ⊙ [5]ועֶין אלָהֲהֹם הות על שָׂבֵי יהודיא,
ולא בטִלו המו, עד טַעמא[b] לדריוש יהָך[c] וֶאדַין יתִיבון נשתוָנא
על דנה ⊙

[6]פרשגן אִגַּרתא די שְׁלַח תַתְּנַי פחת עבר נהרה ושתרבוזני,
וּכְנָוָתֵהּ[d] אֲפַרְכַסָיָא[e] די בעבר נהרה, על דריוש מלכא ⊙ [7]פִּתְגָמא
שְׁלַחוּ עלוהי, וּכְדנה כתיב בְגַוֵּהּ:

לדריוש מלכא, שְׁלָמא כֹלָּא ⊙ [8]ידיע להֱוֵא למלכא, די אֲזַלְנא
ליהוד[f] מדינתא לבית אלהא רַבָּא, והוא מִתבְנֵא אֶבֶן גְּלָל, ואָע
מִתְּשָׂם בְּכֻתליא; ועבידתא דך אָספַּרנָא[g] מתעַבדא, וּמַצְלַח בִּידֵהֹם ⊙
[9]אדין שְׁאֵלְנא לְשָׂבַיָּא אִלֵּך, כְּנֵמא אֲמַרנא לְהֹם: מָן[h] שָׂם לכם
טְעֵם, ביתא דנה לְמִבְנְיָה[i] ואשרנא[k] דנה לְשַׁכְלָלָה ⊙ [10]ואַף

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and third of these were derived by a copyist's mistake from the similar passage in vs. 9; it was then necessary to change the אַף to אדין. With the restored text cf. the beginning of vs. 10.

[b] "News," as in the title בעל טעם.

[c] So also in the Egyptian papyri, the forms אהך and תהך (Cowley, *op. cit.*).

[d] The singular suffix, as in 4:6 (7); a merely literary variation from the more frequent plural. The suffix refers to the nearer one of the two names.

[e] Aramaic adaptation of the Greek ἔπαρχος; see above. MT אפרסכיא. Perhaps the כ and ס were actually transposed in the Jewish pronunciation of the word.

[f] This word, "Judea," occurs in the letter from the Jews of Elephantine, 408 B. C., published by Sachau, I, 1.

[g] A word of unknown origin; see above.

[h] It is safest to retain this Jewish pointing, מָן instead of מַן, until we know more about it.

[i] This form should not be "emended" away, especially since precisely similar forms are found in the Palestinian Talmud and the Jerusalem Targums (Dalman, *Gramm.*², 340, 349). So also in biblical Hebrew, and especially when ל is joined to the infinitive, Gesen.-Kautzsch, § 45, *d*, *e*. In Ezr. 7:9, indeed, we seem to have an Aramaizing infin. of just this sort, מעלה (Gesen.-

שׁמָהָתהם שׁאֵלנא להם להוֹדָעוּתך، די נִכתֻּב שֻׁם[l] גֻּבריא די
בְרָאשׁיהם[m] ⊙ [11]וכנֵמא פתגָמא התיבוּנא، לְמֵמַר[n]: אנַחנא
המּוֹ עבדוֹהי די אלהּ שׁמיא וארעא؛ ובָנַין ביתא די הוָא בנֵה
מִקַּדמַת דנה שׁנִין שַׂגִּיאָן، ומֶלך לישׂראל רב בנָהִי ושַׁכללֵהּ ⊙
[12]לָהֵן[o] מִן די הַרגִּזוּ אבָהָתָנא לֶאלהּ שׁמיא، יהַב המו ביד
נבוּכדנצר[p] מלך בבל כסדָיא، וביתה דנה סַתרֵהּ ועַמָּה הַגלִי
לבבל[q] ⊙ [13]בְּרַם בשׁנת חדָה לכוֹרשׁ מלכא די בבל، כורשׁ מלכא
שׂם טעם בֵית אלהא דנה לִבּנֵא[r] ⊙ [14]ואַף מָאניא די בית אלהא،
די דַהבה וכַספּא، די נבוכדנצר הַנפֵּק מן הֵיכלא די בירושׁלם
והֵיבֵל המו להֵיכלא די בבל، הַנפק המו כורשׁ מלכא מן היכלא
די בבל، וִיהִבוּ לשֵׁשׁבַּצַּר[s] שׁמֵהּ[t]، די פחה שָׂמֵהּ ⊙ [15]וַאמַר לֵהּ:

Kautzsch, *l. c.*). These isolated occurrences are too valuable to be thrown away.

[k] See the note on this word in vs. 3.

[l] This is correct as it stands.

[m] There is no Hebraism here. As for the "un-Aramaic" pronunciation with ָר instead of ֵר, is not this what we see preserved in the modern name of the important town *Rāšēyā*, רָאשַׁיָּא, at the northern foot of Hermon? (We seem to have similar survivals of this Aram. plur. ending in the names of the towns *Ḥāsbēyā*, חָשׁביא, west of Hermon, and *Dārēyā*, דריא, just south of Damascus. I do not know that this explanation of them has ever been given before.)

[n] This same form (without א) in a papyrus record from Elephantine; Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 41. The thoroughgoing Hebraism לאמר occurs some fifteen times in the papyri published by Sayce and Cowley.

[o] This also, similarly used, in the Egyptian papyri.

[p] The incorrect form of the name generally used by the Jews in the Greek period. Also vs. 14 and 6:5.

[q] Babylonia, not Babylon.

[r] See above, on vs. 3.

[s] See above, on the proper names.

[t] The comments which have been made in recent years on the

אֱלָהּ[u] מָאנַיָּא, שֵׂא אֱזֶל אֲחֵת הִמּוֹ בהיכלא די בירושלם, ובית
אלהא יתבנֵא על אֲתְרֵהּ[v] ⊙ [16]אדין שֵׁשבצר דֵּךְ אתָא יהב אֻשַּׁיָּא[w]
די בית אלהא די בירושלם; ומן אדין ועד כְּעַן מִתבנֵא ולא שְׁלִם[x] ⊙
[17]וּכְעַן הֵן על מִלכא טָב, יִתְבַּקַּר בבית גִּנזיא[y] די [סִפְרַיָּא דִּי][z]
מִלכא תַּמָּה, די בבבל[a], הֵן אִיתַי די מִן כורש מִלכא שִׂים טעם
לְמִבְנֵא בית אלהא דֵךְ בירושלם; ורעוּת מִלכא על דנה יִשְׁלַח עלינא ⊙
6[1] באדין דריוש מִלכא שׂם טעם, וּבַקַּרוּ בבית גִּנזיא[b] די סִפריא
מְהַחֲתִין תמה בבבל ⊙ [2]וְהִשְׁתְּכַח בְּאַחְמְתָא בבִירתא די בְמָדַי
מדינתא[c] מְגִלָּה הדה, וכן כְּתִיב בְּגַוַּהּ: ⊙
[3]דִּכְרוֹנָה.[d] (3) בשנת הדה לכורש מִלכא, כורש מִלכא שׂם טעם:

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text of this last clause are curious. As though שֵׁשְׁבַּצַּר שְׁמֵהּ, "Sheshbazzar by name," were not faultless Aramaic! Marti, in the note appended to his text, suggests that שְׁמֵהּ may be *a gloss* (!!). Guthe, *Polychrome Bible*, decides that the word is the result of dittography (!) of the שְׂמֵהּ at the end of the verse; so also Bertholet, *Comm.* And so on.

[u] Not a Hebraism, as has long been known from the old Aramaic inscriptions. In Jewish Aramaic also in Jer. 10:11 and often in the Assuan papyri.

[v] This same phrase used in speaking of the Egyptian temple; Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[w] Meyer, *Entstehung*, p. 44, thinks that the meaning of יהב אשיא is "problematisch"!

[x] Not passive, but the perf. *peʿal* of the stative verb.

[y] Plural, "store-*houses*;" see the note on 4:15.

[z] The emendation, and the reason for the loss of the words from the text, are alike obvious.

[a] Here again, בבל is the country, "Babylonia."

[b] The transposition is necessary, not merely for the sake of agreement with 5:17 (as emended), but in order to make sense.

[c] Marti, *Gramm.*, p. 45*: "די במדי מדינתא fehlt in LXX." What does he mean by this?

[d] זכרן (the older form) similarly used in the Elephantine papyrus; Sachau, pp. 40 f.

בית אלהא בירושלם، ביתא יִתבְּנֵא אתַר די דָבחין דִבחין ואִשַּׁיָּה[e]
מְסוֹבלין.[f] רוּמֵהּ אַמִּין שִׁתִּין، פְּתָיֵהּ אמין שתין؛ ⊙ [4]נִדְבָּכִין די אבן
גְּלָל תְּלָתָא، ונדבך די אָע חֲדָה[g]؛ ונִפקתא מן בית מלכא תִּתְיְהִב ⊙
[5]ואַף מָאנֵי בית אלהא، די דַהבה וכַספא، די נבוכדנצר הַנפק מן
היכלא די בירושלם והֵיבֵל לבבל، יַהתיבוּן؛ וִיהָךְ[h] להיכלא די
בירושלם לאַתרֵהּ، ויֻנְחַת[i] בבית אלהא[k] ⊙

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[6]כְּעַן תַּתְּנַי פַּחַת עבר נהרה، שְׁתַרבּוֹזְנַי، וכְנָוָתְהוֹן[l] אֲפַרְסְכָיֵא[m] די

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[e] MT אֶשּׁוֹהִי. But many scholars since Ball (*Variorum Apocrypha*, 1892, p. 16) have seen that the word for "fire-offering" originally stood here, as also I Esdras translates. The form adopted (emphat. plur. written with ה) is the most likely one.

[f] This is not a *po'al*, but a regularly formed *šaph'el* from the root יבל, Heb. יבל, Assyr. *abālu*, "bring." Cf. the use of the *hiph'īl* הוביל, in speaking of bringing offerings to Yahwè; Ps. 68:30; 76:12, Zeph. 3:10.

[g] MT חדת, "new."

[h] The *constructio ad sensum*, "and let *it* (all) come." Cf. the similar change of number in vs. 9, and the change of gender at the end of 5:8.

[i] MT וְתַחֵת, but the second person is out of the question here. Read the *hoph'al* imperf. masc. (cf. Dan. 5:20), which is graphically almost the exact equivalent of the form in MT.

[k] On the *lacuna* here, see above, p. 229. It is plain that at a very early date a passage of some length was accidentally dropped; probably because it resembled the preceding, and ended with the words בית אלהא.

[l] It is common to "emend" this suffix to that of the second person, but no such alteration is required. When the persons directly addressed are not actually present, the Semitic often refers to them at the outset, in the formal address itself, with the *third* person, as here and in 4:17. Thus, for example, the כֻּלָּם in Micah 1:2; the يا أيّها الذين آمنوا etc. of the Koran; and many other instances.

[m] See the note on 5:6.

בעבר נהרה, רַחִיקִין הֲווֹ מִן תַּמָּה ⊙ [7]שְׁבֻקוּ לַעֲבִידַת בית אלהא
דֵךְ פחת יהוּדָיֵא וּלְשָׂבֵי[n] יהודיא; בית אלהא דֵךְ יִבְנוֹן על אַתְרֵהּ ⊙
[8]וּמִנִּי שִׂים טעם, לְמָא די תַעַבְדוּן עִם שָׂבֵי יהודיא אִלֵּךְ לְמִבְנֵא
בית אלהא דֵךְ, וּמִנִּכְסֵי[o] מלכא די מִדַּת עבר נהרה אָסְפַּרְנָא נִפְקְתָא
תֶּהֱוֵא מִתְיַהֲבָא לְגֻבְרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ, די לא לְבַטָּלָה ⊙ [9]וּמָה חַשְׁחָן[p], וּבְנֵי[q] The Chronicler

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[n] The text of this verse is probably correct as it stands in MT, though the clauses are wrongly divided there. In this word וּלשׂבי, the ל is used exactly as it is in וּלכל, 7:28; i. e., in order to show how the construction is continued. In this instance, it shows that the noun is the direct object of the preceding verb, not the subject of the following verb, as it would otherwise pretty certainly be regarded. Jerome understood the verse as I have punctuated it. Marti, *Gramm.*, and Bertholet, *Comm.*, say that "LXX" omits פחת יהודיא, which is not true; Kittel, *Bibl. Hebr.*, says that I Esdr. "inserts" לעבד אלהא זרבבל, which also is not true. Guthe's restoration of the text here (*Polychrome Bible*) is a marvel.

[o] An explicative ו, meaning "even" or "namely," was certainly used to a considerable extent in the Aramaic of this period. See vs. 9, וּבני, and also my notes on I Esdr. 3:1, 6 (Vol. XXIII, p. 190).

[p] Generally regarded as plur. of a supposed fem. noun חַשְׁחתא, "need;" so Nöldeke in Kautzsch, *Gram. des bibl. Aram.*, p. 175. It seems to me more probable that it is the fem. plur. of the *pe'al* participle, with the meaning "needful." The same form, in just this use, is common in Syriac; and the adjective, or its equivalent, is intrinsically much more probable here than a noun. The construction according to the sense, "whatever (things) *are* needful," is certainly possible, especially for such a slovenly writer as this one; and the fem. is the gender to be expected. MT points חַ, just as it points מִטַּת for מְטָת, יְהָךְ for יְהָךְ, אדרַע for אדרָע, כְּתָב for כְּתַב, and many others; observe especially that this very participle is pointed חַשְׁחִין in Dan. 3:16, according to excellent testimony. And this all undoubtedly represents an actual (local or late) pronunciation.

[q] The "explicative" ו again; see the note on vs. 8. For this use of בני, cf. II Chron. 35:7.

תּוֹרִין וּדְכרִין וְאִמּרִין[r] לַעֲלָוָן לאלהּ שמיא, חִנטין מְלַח חמַר ומשַׁח, כמֵאמר
כָּהֲניא די בירושלם להֱוֵא מתיהֵב[s] להם יום ביום די לא שָׁלוּ ⊙ [10]די לֶהֱוֺן
מְהַקרבין ניחוחין לאלהּ שמיא, ומצַלַּין לחַיֵּי מלכא ובנוהי[t] ⊙ [11]ומִנִּי שִׂים
טעם, די כל אֱנָשׁ די יְהַשׁנא פתגמא דנה, יִתנְסַח אָע מן ביתהּ
וזקִיף יִתמְחֵא עלוהי, וביתהּ נְוָלוּ יתעֲבֵד[u], על דנה ⊙ [12]וֵאלהא די
שַׁכִּן שְׁמהּ תמה יְמַגַּר[v] כל מלך ועַם די יִשְׁלַח ידהּ לְחַבָּלָה[w] בית
אלהא דֵךְ די בירושלם. אנה דריוש שָׂמֶת טעם, אספרנא יתעבֵד ⊙
[13]אדין תַּתְּני פחת עבר נהרה, שתרבוזני וכנָוָתהון, לָקֳבֵל די
שְׁלַח דריוש מלכא כנֵמא אספרנא עבַדוּ ⊙ [14]וְשָׂבֵי יהודיא בָּנַיִן
וּמַצלחין, בנבוּאַת חַגַּי נביאה[x] וזכַריה בר עִדּוֹ. וּבנו ושַׁכללוּ מן
טַעם[y] אלהּ ישראל, וּמִטְּעֵם כורש וְדריוש וארתחַשַׁשְׂתא מלך פָּרָס[z] ⊙
[15]וְשֵׁיצִיא[a] ביתה דנה עד יום [עֶשְׂרִין ו]תלָתה[b] לירַח אדָר, די

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[r] Cf. 7:17, etc.

[s] For the change of gender and number, "let *it* (all) be given," cf. vs. 5, and the note there.

[t] For the reasons for ascribing these two verses to the Chronicler, see *Comp.*, p. 10.

[u] Cf. Dan. 2:5; 3:29, and see *Harper Mem.*, Vol. II, 79.

[v] Both מַגַּר and חבל, used as in this verse, in the Elephantine papyrus, ed. Sachau, I, l. 14.

[w] MT inserts לְהַשְׁנָיָה before this word; plainly the *lapsus calami* of a scribe who remembered what he had just written in vs. 11.

[x] See the note on 5:1.

[y] Not "a Hebraism" (Marti). Both forms of the construct were in common use in the period from which our biblical Aramaic dates. So צֵלֶם and צְלֵם, etc. The massoretic distinction between the "decree" of God and the "decree" of the friendly kings is natural enough.

[z] An addition carelessly made by some later hand.

[a] The orthography with א may well be ancient; it is safest to retain it. As for the meaning, there is not the least room for doubt, in view of the common use of שֵׁיצִי in later Jewish Aramaic, to mean "be finished," "come to an end." Merely an example of the stative *šaph'el* (שֵׁיזִב, "escape," furnishes

הִיא[c] שנת שֵׁת לְמַלְכוּת דריוש מַלכא ⊙ [16] ועבדוּ בְּנֵי ישׂראל כָּהֲניא
ולֵוָיֵא ושְׁאָר בני גָלוּתא חֲנֻכַּת בית אלהא דנה בְּחֶדְוָה ⊙ [17] והַקְרִבוּ
לַחֲנֻכַּת בית אלהא דנה תורין מְאָה، דִּכרין מָאתַן، אִמְּרין אַרבע
מְאָה، וּצְפִירֵי עִזִּין לְחַטָּיא על כל ישׂראל תְּרֵי עֲשַׂר، לְמִנְיָן שִׁבטי
ישׂראל ⊙ [18] והקימוּ כָּהֲניא בִּפְלֻגָּתְהוֹן، ולֵוָיֵא בְּמַחְלְקָתְהוֹן، על
עבידת [בית][d] אלהא די בירושלם، כִּכְתָב ספַר משֶׁה، [ותָרָעַיָּא
לִתְרַע וּתְרַע][e] ⊙

[19] ויעשׂוּ בני הגולה את הפסח בארבעה עשׂר לחדש הראשון ⊙ (Hebrew)
[20] כי הטהרו וגו׳

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another example); cf. the note (d) on 4:13, above. So understood in I Esdr. 7:5, συνετελέσθη ὁ οἶκος. To "emend" to the plural would be a very foolish proceeding.

[b] The "*twenty*-third" day of the month, as is made nearly certain by I Esdras and Josephus (xi, 4, 7). The "twenty" might easily fall out by accident; it would hardly have been added. The following month, Nisan, was the natural one to select for the first complete restoration of the cultus, cf. Exod. 40:17 ff. This was the first month of the seventh year of Darius. According to the Chronicler (who always provides an exact date), after the people had finished building they still had a week left for the celebration, before the beginning of the new year.

[c] According to Meyer, *Entstehung*, 54, די היא is "offenbar verstümmelt," and subsequent commentators have echoed this. As for the pronoun, the fem. is quite as natural as the masc., according to all Semitic usage, and undoubtedly stood here originally. And as for the connection: "*namely, of* the sixth year," there is not the least reason to object to it; nor would there be, even if the Chronicler were not its author. The ellipsis is a natural one.

[d] This word was probably dropped from the text by accident, at an early day. It cannot be dispensed with here.

[e] So I Esdras, at this point: καὶ οἱ θυρωροὶ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου πυλῶνος, and Josephus also had these words before him. The words are the Chronicler's own (no one else would have been half so likely

EZRA'S CREDENTIALS

(Ezr. 7:11–28)

The Chronicler (Hebrew)

[11] 7 וזה פַּרשגן הנִשתוָן אשר נתן המלך אַרתַחשַׁסתא[f] לעזרא
הכהן הסֹפֵר ، סֹפר דברי מִצות יהוה וחֻקיו על ישׂראל ⊙

The Chronicler (Aramaic)

[12] ארתַחשסתא[f] ، מֶלך מלכיא ، לעֶזרָא כָהנא ، סָפַר דָתא[g] די אלָה
שְׁמיא ، [שְׁלָם][h] גמִיר ⊙ [13] וכעֶנֶת : (13) מִני שִׂים טעֵם ، די כל
מִתנַדַּב במַלכותי מן עמא ישׂראל וכָהנוהי ולֵוָיֵא למְהָך לירושׁלם
עמך ، יְהָך ; ⊙ [14] כָל קבֵל[i] די מן קֳדָם מלכא ושִׁבעת יָעטֹהי שְׁלִיח[k] ،

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to write them), and they are in their original place, cf. II Chron. 8:14; 23:18 f.; 35:15. They were accidentally omitted by some one who thought that the verse ended with the reference to the "Book of Moses." The exact form of the words is made certain by the passages cited, and especially by the rendering of this same translator in II Chron. 35:15 = I Esdr. 1:15.

[f] On the orthography of this name see above, in the section on the proper names.

[g] Meyer, *Entstehung*, p. 61, writes: "Das Particip mit dem abhängigen Nomen סָפַר דתא kann nichts anderes heissen als 'der das Gesetz geschrieben hat.'" He therefore concludes that Ezra is especially designated here, in this official document, as the author of the "Priest-Code." So far as grammar and usage are concerned, this observation is precisely as valuable as the one on pp. 16 f., in which he insists that על ארתחששתא, Ezr. 4:7, can only mean "*against* Artaxerxes." And as for the "Priest-Code," it is quite as purely a fiction of modern Old Testament learning as is the "Hexateuch," against which designation Meyer (pp. 216 ff.) rightly declaims. There was a priestly expansion and redaction of the law (which took place in Palestine, not in Babylonia); but when once the true origin and character of the Ezra story are recognized, there is not a scrap of evidence, external or internal, tending to show that any separate "priestly law-book" ever existed.

[h] The emendation is certain.

[i] See the note (e) on 4:14.

[k] The omission of the subject (the pron. of the second pers.

לְבַקָּרָה על יהוּד ולִירוּשְׁלֶם[l]، בְּדָת אלהך די בִידָךְ؛ ⊙ [15]ולְהֵיבָלָה
כְּסַף ודהַב، די מַלכא ויָעטוהי התנַדַּבו לֶאלָהּ ישׂראל، די בירושלם
מִשְׁכְּנֵהּ؛ ⊙ [16]וכֹל כְּסַף ודהַב די תהַשְׁכַּח בכל מְדִינת בבל؛ עִם
התנַדָּבוּת עמא וכָהניא، מתנַדבין[m] לבית אֱלָהָהֹם[n] די בירושלם ⊙
[17]כל קֳבֵל דנה، אָסְפַּרנא[o] תִקְנֵא בכספא דנה תורין דִכרין אִמרין
ומִנְחָתהון ונִסכיהון، ותקָרֵב[p] המוֹ על מַדבחא די בית אלהכֹם[n] די
בירושלם ⊙ [18]ומָה[q] די עליךְ ועל אֶחיך יֵיטַב בשְׁאָר כספא ודהבה
לְמֶעבַד، כִּרעוּת אלהכֹם תַעבדון ⊙ [19]ומָאניא די מתיַהבין לך לְפָלְחָן
בית אלהך، הַשְׁלֵם קֳדָם אלה ירושלם[r] ⊙ [20]ושְׁאָר חַשְׁחוּת[s] בית
אלהך די יִפֶּל לך לְמִנתַּן، תנתֵּן מן בית גִנזֵי מלכא ⊙
[21]ומִנִּי אנָה ארתחשסתא מלכא שִׂים טעם לכל גִזבריא[t] די בעבר
נַהרה، די כל די יִשְׁאֲלֶנכון עֶזרא כָהנא، סָפַר דָתא די אלה שמיא،

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sing.) is very awkward, but is also very characteristic. See Driver, *Introd.*, list of the Chronicler's peculiar syntactical usages, No. 27. A good parallel, e. g., is II Chron. 19:6 (end): "and [he is] with you in the judgment." So also 18:3, etc.

[l] The characteristic use of ל in continuing the force of another proposition previously used; see the note (n) on 6:7; also above, p. 18, n. i, and below, vs. 28.

[m] Accusative of condition.

[n] See the note on this suffix in 5:3.

[o] See above, on the foreign words.

[p] The *pa'el*, in this sense, is more common than the *aph'el* in Aramaic, whether Jewish or Christian. To "emend" here is pure vandalism.

[q] Cf. the beginning of 6:9.

[r] "The god of Jerusalem;" the Chronicler is fond of making the foreign kings speak in this way; cf. vs. 15, and 1:3. The I Esdras Greek has accidentally lost four words here (8:17): *καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ σκεύη τὰ διδόμενά σοι εἰς τὴν χρείαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ θεοῦ σου* [*παράδος ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ*] *τοῦ ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ.* The L text is "edited" beyond recognition, as usual.

[s] Cf. the beginning of 6:9.

[t] Perhaps best pointed (on good manuscript authority) גְּזָבְרַיָּא. See above, on the foreign words.

אספרנא יתעבִד؛ ⊙ [22]עד כסַף כִּכּרין מאָה، ועד חִנטין כּורין מאָה،
ועד חֲמַר בַּתִּין מאה، ועד בַּתִּין מְשַׁח[u] מאה، ומְלַח די לא כְתָב ⊙
[23]כל די מן טַעַם אלה שמיא، יתעבד אַדְרַזְדָּא[v] לבית אלה שמיא؛
די למה להֱוא קְצַף על מלכות מלכא ובנוהי ⊙ [24]ולכם מהודעין،
די כל כָּהניא ולְוָיא זַמָּריא תָרָעיא נְתִיניא ופָלחי בית אלהא דנה،
מִנדה בלו והֲלָך[w] לא שליט למרמא עליהם ⊙

[25]ואַנְתְּ[x]، עזרא، כחָכמת אלהך די בידך، מֶנִּי שָׁפְטִין ודָיָּנִין די
להון דאנין[y] לכל עמא די בעבר נהרה، לכל יָדְעֵי[z] דָת[a] אלהך، ודי
לא יָדַע תהודעון[b] ⊙ [26]וכל די לא להוא עָבֵד דָתא די אלהך ודתא
די מלכא، אָספרנא דינה להוא מתעבד מנה[c]، הֵן למות הן לשרשו[d]

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[u] Even the Chronicler should be permitted sometimes to vary the form of his phrases. The wording of MT here is not in the least objectionable (cf. I Kings 18:32, for example), and it is not even clear that Theodotion had a different text.

[v] See above, on the foreign words.

[w] The same phrase in 4:13, 20.

[x] The one place in the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra where the original consonant text appears to have written this pronoun without final ה (Strack, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*^{3}, p. 8*). The shorter form is found in the Egyptian papyri of the fifth century B. C.

[y] Cf. the orthography in Dan. 2:38; 3:3, etc.

[z] This refers to the people, not to the judges.

[a] MT דתי ; but the plural does not seem to have been read by any of the translators. Probably a copyist's mistake, caused by the ending of the preceding word.

[b] This is the best reading, even if the I Esdras translator really had the singular before him. Those who were to "teach" were Ezra and these lieutenants of his, whose office was imagined as something like that of an itinerant bishop.

[c] See my note on I Esdr. 4:39; Vol. XXIII, 130.

[d] Vocalization uncertain. שְׁרֹשׁוּ, the abstract formed from the *pe'īl* verbal adjective, is perhaps as likely as anything. *Qerê* שְׁרֹשִׁי.

הן לַעֲנָשׁ נִכְסִין[e] וְלֶאֱסוּרִין ⊙

The Chronicler (Hebrew)

[27]בָּרוּךְ[f] יהוה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתֵינוּ ، אשר נתן כזאת בלב הַמֶּלֶךְ ، לְפָאֵר
את בית יהוה אשר בירושלם ؛ ⊙ [28]ועלי הִטָּה חסד לפני הַמֶּלֶךְ
ויועציו ולכל[g] שָׂרֵי המלך הַגִּבֹּרִים · ואני הִתְחַזַּקְתִּי ، כיד יהוה
אלהי[h] עלי ، וָאֶקְבְּצָה מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל רָאשִׁים לעלות עִמִּי ⊙

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[e] This word, with the meaning "goods," also in the Assuan papyri.

[f] This joyful exclamation, following immediately upon the letter, without the necessity of any intervening narrative, is the best single illustration of the extent to which the Chronicler identifies himself with his Ezra, the hero whom he has created. Cf. Neh. 12:36!

[g] See the note (l) on vs. 14.

[h] The adjective "good" (derived from vs. 9) is added here in the later form of the text which was rendered by Theodotion. The old Greek version agrees with MT.

TRANSLATION

The Chronicler (Hebrew)

4 [4]Then the people of the land[i] kept weakening the hands of the people of Judea, and disquieting them in their building, [5]and hiring counselors[i] against them, to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus[i] king of Persia.[k]

[6]And in the reign of Xerxes, at the beginning of his reign, Bishlam, Mithradates, Tab'el, and the rest of his companions, wrote an accusation against the inhabitants of Judea and Jerusalem.

[7]And in the days of Artaxerxes,[l] Rehum the reporter[m] and

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[i] See above, the notes on the Hebrew text.

[k] MT adds, "and until the reign of Darius king of Persia." See the note on the Hebrew text.

[l] That is, the king whose reign immediately followed that of Xerxes, just as that of Xerxes was believed to have immediately followed that of Cyrus; see above.

[m] In the reorganization, by Darius I, of the Persian provincial government, an official was created whose especial business it was to report to the

Shimshai the scribe wrote to Artaxerxes king of Persia; and the text of the letter was written in Aramaic, and translated.[n]

Aramaic Writer [8] *Rehum the reporter and Shimshai the scribe wrote a letter against Jerusalem to Artaxerxes the king, as follows.* [9] Then Rehum the reporter and Shimshai the scribe, and the rest of their companions, the Dinaites, the Apharsathkites, the men of Tetrapolis, the Persians, the men of Erech, the Babylonians, and the men of Susa, who are Elamites, [10] and the rest of the peoples which the great and illustrious Shalmanassar transported, and made to dwell in the cities of Samaria and the rest of the province Beyond the River;—this is the copy of the letter which they sent to him.

To Artaxerxes the king; thy servants, the men from Beyond the River, (send greeting.)[o] [12] *To proceed:* (12) *Be it known to the king, that the Jews who went up from thee*[p] *came to us. Jerusalem, the rebellious and wicked city, they are building; they are completing the walls, and laying the foundations.* [13] *Now be it known to the king, that if that city shall be built and its walls completed, they will pay no tribute, tax, nor custom, and the royal taxation will suffer damage.* [14] *Now inasmuch as we have eaten of the salt of the palace, and it is not fitting for us to see the king's hurt, for this reason we hereby send and make the matter known to the king,* [15] *so that search may be made in the record-books*[q] *of thy fathers; and thou wilt find in the record-books and learn, that that city hath been a rebellious city, and one causing damage to kings and provinces, and that insurrection hath been made therein since the days of old; therefore was that city laid waste.* [16] *We make known to the king, that if that city shall be built and its*

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king the progress of affairs in each satrapy (Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, 33 f.). It is this officer who is intended here by the title בעל טעם; cf. the use of טעמא in 5:5. The old Greek translator, who rendered *ὁ γράφων τὰ προσπίπτοντα*, lived at a time in which the recollection of these government officials was still preserved.

[n] That is, translated *into Hebrew;* there is no other natural or possible interpretation. The narrator supposed that the Jews of the time of Artaxerxes I did not know Aramaic well.

[o] The word of greeting is not present in our text, but may be understood.

[p] That is, "from thy land," Babylonia. The reference is to the expedition in the days of Cyrus, to which indirect allusion is again made in the following chapters. See above, p. 232.

[q] Plural number, not singular; see the note on the text.

walls completed, as a result thou wilt have no part in the province Beyond the River.[r]

[17] *The king returned answer:*

To Rehum the reporter and Shimshai the scribe, and the rest of their[s] *companions who dwell in Samaria and in the remainder of the province Beyond the River, greeting.* [18] *To proceed:* (18) *The letter which ye sent to us was plainly read before me.* [19] *And I gave command, and they made search, and found that that city from days of old hath risen against kings, and rebellion and insurrection have been made therein.* [20] *And over Jerusalem were mighty kings, ruling also in all the province Beyond the River; and tribute, tax, and custom were paid to them.*[t] [21] *Now therefore give command to restrain those men; and let that city not be built, until from me command be given.* [22] *And be ye careful not to deal negligently in this matter, lest the harm be increased to the damage of the kingdom.*[u]

[23] *Thereupon, as soon as the copy of the letter of Artaxerxes the king was read before Rehum and Shimshai the scribe, and their companions, they went in haste to Jerusalem against the Jews, and restrained them by force of arms.*[v] [24] *Then was stopped the work upon the house of God in Jerusalem, and it remained at a standstill until the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia.*

5[1] *But Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo, uttered a prophecy for the Jews who were in Judea and Jerusalem, in the name of the God of Israel which*[w] *was over them.* [2] *Thereupon rose up Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel and Jeshua the son*

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[r] I. e., the glory of the days of David and Solomon will return, and the Jews will rule over all Samaria and Syria.

[s] So, frequently, the third person rather than the second, in Semitic usage. See the note on the text of 6:6.

[t] No Persian king or official could ever have written this verse, nor anything resembling it. It is, on the contrary, an illustration of the old familiar custom of the Jewish writers of the last centuries B. C., to give glory to their city, and their temple, and themselves, by proxy.

[u] Lit., "to the damage of kings."

[v] Lit., "by arm and (military) force."

[w] Cf. Deut. 28:10, etc.

of Jozadak, and began[x] *to build the house of God in Jerusalem, and with them were the prophets of God helping them.*

[3]*At that time there came to them Tattenai, governor of the province Beyond the River, and Shetharbozenai,*[y] *and their companions, and thus they said to them: Who hath given you command to build this house, and to complete this colonnade?*[z] [4]*They also asked*[a] *them: What are the names of the men who are building this building?* [5]*But the eye of their God was upon the elders of the Jews, and they did not stop them, until the report should come to Darius and thereupon a message be returned in regard to the matter.*

[6]*The copy of the letter which Tattenai, governor of the province Beyond the River, and Shetharbozenai, and his companions, the eparchs who were in the province Beyond the River, sent to Darius the king.* [7]*They sent him a communication, and thus was written in it:*

To Darius the king, all peace. [8]*Be it known to the king, that we went to the province of Judea, to the house of the great God; and it is being built with great stones, and wood is put into the walls; and the work is done diligently, and prospers in their hands.* [9]*Then we questioned those elders,*[b] *and thus we said to them: Who hath given you command to build this house, and to complete this colonnade?*[c] [10]*Moreover, we asked of them their names, in order to make them known to thee, so that we might write down the names of the men who are at their head.* [11]*And thus they made reply to us, saying: We are the servants of the God of heaven and earth, and are rebuilding a house which was erected many years ago, one which a great king of Israel built and completed.* [12]*But because our fathers angered the God*

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[x] See the note on the Aramaic text. The phrase here implies nothing more than the words of Haggai 1:14: "they came and did work on the house of Yahwè."

[y] The traditional pronunciation; but see above, on the proper names.

[z] The meaning of the Aramaic word is uncertain. See above, on the foreign words.

[a] MT, "then thus we said to them;" see the note on the text.

[b] This would indeed be a singular expression for the hostile officials to use!

[c] See the note in vs. 3.

of heaven, he gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, the Chaldean; and he destroyed this house, and carried away the people captive to Babylonia. [13]*But in the first year of Cyrus king of Babylon, Cyrus the king gave command to build this house of God.* [14]*Also the vessels of the house of God, of gold and of silver, which Nebuchadnezzar had taken away from the temple in Jerusalem and brought to the temple in Babylon, Cyrus the king brought out from the temple in Babylon and delivered to one named Sheshbazzar, whom he had made governor.* [15]*And he said to him: Take these vessels, and go, deposit them in the temple which is in Jerusalem; and let the house of God be built upon its (former) site.* [16]*Then came that Sheshbazzar and laid the foundations of the house of God in Jerusalem; and from that time until now it hath been building, but is not completed.*

[17]*Now therefore, if it seem good to the king, let search be made in the storehouses*[d] *in which are the royal documents,*[e] *in Babylonia,*[f] *to see whether it be true that command was given by Cyrus the king to build that house of God in Jerusalem; and let the king send to us his pleasure in the matter.*

6 [1]*Then Darius the king gave command, and they made search in the storehouses in Babylonia*[f] *where the documents*[g] *were deposited.* [2]*And in the citadel at Ecbatana, which is in the province of Media, there was found a certain scroll;*[h] *and thus was written in it:*

[3]MEMORANDUM. (3)*In the first year of Cyrus the king, King Cyrus gave order: As for the house of God in Jerusalem, let the house be built in the place where they offer sacrifices and bring the burnt offerings. Its height shall be sixty cubits and its breadth sixty cubits.* [4]*Let there be three courses of great stones, and one course of wood; and let the expense be paid from the king's house.* [5]*Also the vessels of the house of God, of gold and of silver, which Nebuchadnezzar took away from the temple in*

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[d] Plural number, not singular.

[e] MT has accidentally lost two words here.

[f] Not "Babylon."

[g] MT, "the libraries in B. where the treasures were deposited."

[h] *Encycl. Bibl.*, II, 1481 middle: "i. e., the cuneiform tablet"!

Jerusalem and brought to Babylon, let them restore; and let it (all) come to the temple in Jerusalem, to its place, and be deposited in the house of God.[i]

* * * * *

[6] *Now Tattenai, governor of the province Beyond the River, Shetharbozenai, and their*[k] *companions, the eparchs who are in the province Beyond the River, be ye far from thence.* [7] *Leave the governor of the Jews and the elders of the Jews free to work upon that house of God; let them build that house of God in its place.* [8] *And I hereby give command, in regard to whatever ye shall do in co-operation with those Jewish elders toward building that house of God, that out of the royal revenue from the tribute of the province Beyond the River the expense be diligently paid to those men, without fail.*

[9] And whatever things are needful, such as young bullocks, rams, and lambs, for whole-burnt-offerings to the God of heaven; wheat, salt, wine, and oil; according to the word of the priests who are in Jerusalem let it (all) be given to them, day by day, without negligence; [10] so that they may offer pleasant offerings to the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king and his sons.[l]

[11] *And I have made a decree, that if any man alter this edict, a beam shall be pulled out of his house and he shall be impaled thereon, and his house shall be made a dunghill, in punishment for this.* [12] *And may the God who hath made his name to dwell there overthrow any king or people who shall put forth a hand to destroy*[m] *that house of God which is in Jerusalem. I, Darius, have given command; let it be diligently performed.*

[13] *Then Tattenai, governor of the province Beyond the River, Shetharbozenai, and their companions, according to the word which Darius the king had sent, thus they did diligently.* [14] *And the elders of the Jews built and prospered, through the prophecy of Haggai the prophet and Zechariah the son of Iddo. And they*

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[i] On the lacuna at this point, see above, p. 229.

[k] See the note on 4:17.

[l] Vss. 9 f. are the work of the Chronicler; see above.

[m] MT, "to change, to destroy."

completed their building[n] *by the command of the God of Israel, and by the order of Cyrus, and Darius,* and Artaxerxes king of Persia.

The Chronicl
(Aramaic)

[15] And this house was finished on the [twenty-]third day of the month Adar, of the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king. [16] And the children of Israel, the priests, and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity performed the dedication of this house of God with joy. [17] And they offered, for the dedication of this house of God, one hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, and four hundred lambs; and for a sin offering for all Israel twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel. [18] And they stationed the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, for the service of [the house of] God which is in Jerusalem, according to the prescription of the book of Moses, [and the porters were at every gate].

(Hebrew)

[19] And the children of the captivity observed the passover in the fourteenth day of the first month.

(*The remaining verses (20–22) of the chapter give a brief account, in Hebrew, of this passover. Then follows the introduction to the story of Ezra, 7:1–10, this also composed by the Chronicler, and written in Hebrew. Vs. 11 introduces the "letter of Artaxerxes."*)

The Chronicler
(Hebrew)

7 [11] And this is the copy of the letter which Artaxerxes[o] the king gave to Ezra the priest, the scribe, learned in the words of the ordinances of Yahwè and his statutes for Israel:

The Chronicler
(Aramaic)

[12] Artaxerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, perfect [peace]. [13] To proceed: (13) I have made a decree, that any one in my kingdom, of the people of Israel, and its priests, and the Levites, who shall freely offer to go with thee to Jerusalem,[p] may go; [14] inasmuch as thou art sent by the king and his seven counselors, to make investigation[q] regard-

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[n] Lit., "and they built and completed."

[o] I. e., according to the Chronicler, Artaxerxes II; to whose reign he also assigns the story of Nehemiah. See above.

[p] On the very striking resemblance of this letter, in its substance and its phraseology, to the similar documents (also composed by the Chronicler) in Ezr. 1:3–6 and I Esdr. 4:47–56, see above, p. 228.

[q] In what follows it is made plain that the mission of Ezra included also the institution of any needed reforms.

ing Judea and Jerusalem in accordance with the law of thy God which is in thy hand; [15]and to carry the silver and gold which the king and his counselors have vowed to the God of Israel, whose dwelling is in Jerusalem; [16]as well as all the silver and gold which thou shalt find in all the province of Babylonia;[r] together with the free-will offering of the people and the priests, which they vow for the house of their God which is in Jerusalem. [17]Thou shalt therefore purchase diligently, with this money, bullocks, rams, and lambs, besides their meal offerings and their drink offerings, and thou shalt offer them upon the altar of the house of your God which is in Jerusalem. [18]And whatsoever shall seem good to thee and to thy brethren to do with the rest of the silver and gold, ye may do according to the good pleasure of your God. [19]And the vessels which are given to thee for the service of the house of thy God, deliver in the presence of the God of Jerusalem.[s] [20]And whatever other requirement of the house of thy God it may happen to thee to bestow, thou mayest bestow it out of the king's treasury.

[21]And I, Artaxerxes the king, hereby issue a decree, to all the treasurers of the province Beyond the River; that whatever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, let it be done diligently; [22]unto a hundred talents of silver, and to a hundred measures of wheat, and to a hundred measures of wine, and to a hundred measures of oil, and salt without prescription (of the amount). [23]Whatsoever is by the command of the God of heaven, let it be done diligently[t] for the house of the God of heaven; lest wrath come upon the reign of the king and his sons. [24]And to you notice is hereby given, that upon no one of the priests or Levites, singers, porters, Nethinim, or (other) servants of this house of God, is it permitted to impose tribute, tax, or custom.[u]

[r] This apparently refers to contributions solicited from people of the province who were not Jews.

[s] See the note on the Aramaic text.

[t] The word is quite unknown, but this is its evident meaning.

[u] The gifts and prerogatives promised in the document thus far make a list which is not quite incredible in itself; it is rather the form in which it is all cast that betrays with certainty the Jewish authorship. It is interesting to compare the imaginary letter from Demetrius Soter to the Jews, "quoted"

[25] And do thou, Ezra, according to the wisdom of God which is in thy hand, appoint magistrates and judges, who shall judge all the people of the province Beyond the River,[v] all who know the law of thy God; and those who do not know it ye shall teach. [26] And whoever will not observe the law of thy God and the law of the king, let judgment be executed diligently upon him; whether unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.

The Chronicler (Hebrew)

[27] Blessed[w] be Yahwè, the God of our fathers, who put such a thing as this into the heart of the king, to beautify the house of Yahwè which is in Jerusalem; [28] and gave me favor in the eyes of the king and his counselors, and all the mighty officers of the king. So I strengthened myself, by virtue of the hand of Yahwè my God which was over me, and gathered out of Israel chief men[x] to go up with me.

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in I Macc. 10:26–45, where the author of that history deliberately sets himself the task of composing such a list of royal grants and concessions as should be truly "incredible" (cf. vs. 46).

But in the final paragraph of the Artaxerxes edict, where the king formally adopts the law of Moses for the Jews of all Syria and Palestine, and gives Ezra and the officers appointed by him free hand to enforce this law throughout the whole Transflumen(!), with power to imprison, confiscate, banish, and execute the death penalty, it is plain that even the last vestige of probability is gone.

[v] Meyer, *Entstehung*, p. 67, argues that this phrase means (and presumably it does, since the Chronicler wrote it) the Jewish community in the Transflumen, "oder wie wir sagen würden Palästina" [!], and then adds, that the Jews of Palestine occupied only the one compact settlement in Judea. That is, כל עמא די בעבר נהרה is by these successive steps reduced to mean only the Jewish church in Judea! This is convenient reasoning, but in view of the constant use of the term "Beyond the River" in express contrast with Judea, all through Ezra and Nehemiah, the argument cannot stand.

[w] See the note on the text.

[x] Cf. especially Ezr. 1:5 and I Esdr. 5:1. These "chief men" of Israel are sure to appear wherever the Chronicler is the writer.

LAMENTATION TO THE GODDESS OF ŠIRPURLA

By St. Langdon
Oxford

It is now quite well known that most of the so-called interlinear hymns and rituals are based upon Sumerian originals. For instance the well-known lament to Enlil over the fall of Nippur in IV R., 28*, No. 4, is based in the obverse upon the old Sumerian hymn, *CT*, XV, 10, and in the reverse upon *CT*, XV, 13.* A great many other well-known poems have already been traced, in part, to pure Sumerian originals and we often find the Semitic interlinear translation so faulty and filled with glosses that its secondary nature must be apparent to any candid student. The ancient psalm concerning a calamity that befell Lagaš, which forms the subject of this article, is at least older than the period of Ḫammurabi and may be assigned to about 2500 B. C., which was in fact the golden age of Sumerian literature. The calamity described would indicate an invasion such as was made by Lugalzaggisi in the time of Urukagina. The graphic description of how the city was destroyed, its temples plundered and its people slain, is given upon the stone tablet of Urukagina, published in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, VI, pp. 26 ff. It may be that the following psalm to Bau(-Gula), chief goddess of Lagaš, was inspired by the same event. The text is published in *CT*, XV, pl. 22.

Text

1. URU A USÁN[1] BAR-MU BA-E-GA-ÁM[2]
2. URU-MU GIR-SU-(KI) A USÁN BAR-MU BA-E-GA-ÁM
3. ŠE-IB KI-ŠIR-BUR-LA-(KI) A USÁN BAR-MU BA-E-GA-ÁM
4. ÉŠ É-NINNU-MU A USÁN BAR-MU BA-E-GA-ÁM
5. DUL NINA^{ki}-[3]MU A USÁN BAR-MU BA-E-GA-ÁM

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* See also Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 55, notes 9 and 10.

[1] The sign is Br. 8189 = USÁN, *CT*, XI, 18 *a* 31, in archaic form; XII, 19 *b* 8 = Bab. Miscl., pl. 11, V 5.

[2] For GA-ÁM = išassi 'wail' see *SBH*, 39, 28; 83, 1.

[3] Written NIN-NA.

6. ŠE-IB UD-MA-NINA-TAG-[4](KI)-MU A USÁN BAR-MU BA-E-GA-ÁM
7. GÚ-BAR[5] ŠIR-BUR-LA-(KI)-A A USÁN BAR-MU BA-E-GA-ÁM
8. URU-MU USÁN-BI BA-BIR-BIR-RI
9. GIR-SU-(KI) ZAGINA[6] TŪR-TŪR BA-X[7]-X-E
10. URU ŠAG-BI-TA UDA IN-GA-ÁM-KA[8]
11. GIR-SU-(KI) BAR-BI-TA AN-KAL[9] AZAG-GA-MU
12. ŠĂ-BA BARA BÀR-RA-NA MU-UN-BA-AL
13. MU-MA-RU-NA MU-ŠU-NA MU-UN-BA-AL
14. ÁṂ-MU-UŠ G‘UL-LA-ŠÚ MU-UN-BA-AL
15. DAM UR-SAG-GAL-A-ŠÚ MU-UN-BA-AL
16. GA-ŠA-AN-BI-TA NAM-MA-RA-È
17. GA-ŠA-AN GU-LA É-BI-TA BA-RA-È
18. EGI[10] URU-ME-A DUG-GA A-[TA-GAR-NI][11]
19. AME GA-ŠA-AN SUN-NA DÚG-GA A-[TA-GAR-NI]
20. ZIGAR-ŠÚ-SÀ-SÀ IM-GAB . . . .
21. . . . . MU A-A-MU SAG-PA-KAB-DU-EŠ[12]
Rev. 22. . . . . . ^{d}MU-UL-LIL-E SAL . . . . .
23. ÚRU-MU GÚ-DÚR-A MU-NI-IB-G‘A-LAM[13]-A
24. GIR-SU-(KI) GÚ-DÚR-A MU-NI-IB-G‘A-LAM-A
25. ŠIR-BUR-LA GÚ-DÚR-A MU-NI-IB-G‘A-LAM-A
26. SIRARA^{ki} GÚ-DÚR-A MU-NI-IB-G‘A-LAM-A
27. NINA^{ki} GÚ-DÚR-A MU-NI-IB-G‘A-LAM-A

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[4] Br. 7853 SIRAR = UD-MA-NINA-ŠIR-KI; in Gudea, Statue I, 3, 1, is found a temple called UD-MA-NINA-(KI)-TAG; Thureau-Dangin *VAB*, I, p. 86, reads therefore É-SIRARA-ŠUM, assuming the omission of ŠIR. It is highly probable these are all different writings for the same place.

[5] GÚ-BAR = GÚ-EDIN, a section of the territory of Lagaš. For this equivalence cf. IV R., 21**b*, rev. 19, and for EDIN = BAR or BIR, *CT*, XII, 27, 3. EDIN, probably identical with the mythical land of paradise, followed the analogy of the Greek *Elysium* and came to mean the land of the blessed dead. Here Tammuz resided during his stay in the underworld, *CT*, XV, 19, 29.

[6] Read here locative.

[7] Sign is Br. 11208 = ašâšu 'be gloomy,' IV R., 22, No. 2, 4.

[8] A temporal dependent phrase indicated by the oblique particle KA; cf. *Babyloniaca*, I, 240, and 239*b*.

[9] AN-KAL, usually translated by andunāni *HWB*, 225*a*, but by Tallqvist, *Maḳlu*, 135, and Zimmern, *Šurpu*, 54, dūtu = 'bodily appearance.' The meaning 'good health,' synonym of balṭu is probable in King, *Magic*, No. 22, 64.

[10] NIN is visibly composed of KU with feminine prefix SAL. This form of KU (cf. Thureau-Dangin, *REC*, 468 and 355) means ṣubatu 'cloth' and rubū 'prince' to be pronounced EG(I), Br. 10501 and 5845: the root is probably connected with AG(E) = AGŪ 'a crown.' From this gloss we know that NIN was used for both genders and pronounced EG for bêlu and NIN for bêltu. See also my list of *Loan Words* in *Babyloniaca*, II^2 under erešu.

[11] Restored after *CT*, XV, 13, 22 = IV R., 28*, No. 4, rev. 33, a passage discussed in *Babyloniaca*, II^3 (in press).

[12] Br. 3603 = šarâḳu 'to give,' cf. *HWB*, 692*a*, SAL-R = šarraḳtu a priestess concerned with sacrifices(?). As verb in sense of 'present offerings,' Ean. Galet, A VII, 6; Gudea, Cyl. B 14, 12.

[13] For G‘ALAM = ḫalâḳu cf. St. Vaut., rev. 8, 2: Urukagina, Pl. Ovale 4, 19; *SBH*, 73, 11.

28. ŠAB-RU[14]-BI BA-NI-IB-TE-EN
29. ŠAB-RU-RU-BI Ú-BA-NI-IB-TE-EN-TE-EN
30. MU-LU SIR-RA-A ALU-MU-A NIGINA-MU-A NA-GÁL-DIB-BI

ER-ŠEM-MA ᵈBA-Ú-KAM
SIR DINGIR-AD-DA-MU

Translation

1. "In the city how long the darkness," my soul doth sigh.
2. "In my city Girsu how long the darkness," my soul doth sigh.
3. "Within the brick walls of Širpurla how long the darkness," my soul doth sigh.
4. "In the house of my Eninnu[15] how long the darkness," my soul doth sigh.
5. "In the abode of my Nina how long the darkness," my soul doth sigh.
6. "In the brick walls of Sirar how long the darkness," my soul doth sigh.
7. "In GUBAR in Širpurla how long the darkness," my soul doth sigh.
8. Over my city darkness is spread.[16]
9. In shining Girsu the little ones are distressed.
10. Into the interior of the city upon a woeful day.[17]
11. Into the plains[18] of Girsu, my holy land(?).
12. Into the interior of the splendid shrine they pressed.
13. Into the MUMARUN and MUŠUN they pressed.
14. Into joyful AMMUŠ they pressed.
15. Unto the spouse of the great hero[19] they pressed.
16. Unto the queen unto whom none should ascend.
17. The august queen from her temple they brought forth.[20]
18. The lord of my city is estranged, when will he repent?
19. The mother, all powerful queen, is estranged, when will she repent?
20. ? ? ? ?
21. . . . . my, my father, the presents . . . .

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[14] šabru *HWB*, 639*b* and Muss-Arnolt 1006*a*, is a loan-word. In favor of a meaning 'interpreter of dreams' or better 'astronomer,' is the Sumerian G'AŠ = šabrû Br. 4688; the same ideogram = ZIB = šimtu = šimêtan, 'twilight;' cf. Br. 8195 and Kugler, *Sternkunde*, I, p. 9.

[15] Chief temple at Lagaš.

[16] BA-BIR-BIR-RI is a passive form indicated by BA in the instrumental case.

[17] Literally 'when men lament.'

[18] Literally 'in the outskirts,' BAR = aḫâtu *HWB*, p. 40*a*.

[19] I. e., BAU as consort of NINGIRSU (Ninib).

[20] Subject of these verbs is impersonal 'one' or 'the enemy,' hence the forms are singular.

Rev. 22. . . . . ENLIL . . . .
23. In my city which they have destroyed with . . . . . . ,
24. In Girsu which they have destroyed with . . . . ,
25. In Širpurla which they have destroyed with . . . . . . ,
26. In Sirar which they have destroyed with . . . . ,
27. In Nina which they have destroyed with . . . . ,
28. The interpreters they have silenced;
29. The interpreters they have silenced
30. So that the psalmist in my city and my domain takes up his strain no more(!).[21]

Psalm of lament to the flute for Bau.
Psalm of *Dingir-adda-mu*[22]

The above article was sent to the redaction before the writer had seen the edition of the same psalm by Professor Prince in this periodical for October, 1907. He had the edition of Professor Prince before him when correcting the proofs, but found that a commentary on the work would be impossible upon a proof.

[21] For the subjunctive use of NA in negative sentences cf. *Babyloniaca*, I, 272, n. 7.

[22] A proper name,= 'God is my watchman,' or something synonomous. AD is a word for father and ADDA is a title of Kudurmabuk who is called ADDA of MARTU, *CT*, XXI, 33, 4. MU in these names scarcely means n a d ā n u as Huber, *Personennamen*, p. 44*b*.

A COMMUNICATION FROM PROFESSOR HILPRECHT

[*Letter to Professor Lanman from Professor Hilprecht*]

807 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, January 15, 1908

Professor Charles R. Lanman, 9 Farrar Street, Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Professor Lanman: Referring to the letter addressed to me, dated April 18, 1906, by sixteen American orientalists (sent to me with your note dated April 25, 1906), published, with my reply of April 27, 1906 and an introductory note by you in the October, 1907, issue of The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, I inclose herewith copies of the following:

1. My letter to the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, dated January 6, 1908, urging the full publication of all data in their possession and mine bearing upon the "Peters-Hilprecht Controversy."

2. A letter to me dated January 8, 1908, embodying the minute of the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania approving of the full publication by me.

The report on the "Peters-Hilprecht Controversy" to the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, by their Special Committee, dated June 26, 1905, gave only a slight indication of the mass of material presented during the course of its investigation, but it is my intention as speedily as possible to publish all the matter, as indicated in my letter to the trustees, in a manner which I hope you and all your colleagues will consider "full and frank," and which will make it readily accessible to everyone interested in the controversy. My plans for the publication not being as yet fully matured, I am unable at this time to name a definite date of issue, but I believe it will be within two or at most three months. Surely I, more than anyone else, am now interested in not delaying the publication, and the inclosed statement (3) covering a summary of Dr. Peters' original suggestions as to the method of the investigation and of my comment thereon, indicate that from the first (January, 1905) I have not been an advocate of secrecy.

Possibly it may later seem to me of advantage, in clearing up this matter, to request a committee of "your sixteen" to come here to look into the methods employed in dealing with the material from the Temple Library at Nippur possessed by the University of Pennsylvania.

Kindly acquaint your fifteen colleagues with the contents of this communication and its inclosures, and may I not expect, as a matter of simple justice to me, that you will request the publication in full of all I send you in the next issue of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES.

Faithfully yours,

H. V. HILPRECHT

(*Three inclosures.*)

[*Letter to the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania from Professor Hilprecht*]

January 6, 1908

To the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania:

GENTLEMEN: In view of the continued public and private agitation, both against the University and the undersigned head of its Assyriological Section, upon the subject of the so-called "Peters-Hilprecht Controversy," as evidenced in part by the letter addressed to me April 18, 1906, by sixteen American orientalists and published with my reply and an introductory note in THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES, October, 1907 (Vol. XXIV, No. 1, pp. 92-94—copy submitted herewith), and by the preamble and resolution adopted on December 31, 1907, in this city by The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, an official copy of which sent by its corresponding secretary has just reached me today (a copy of which is inclosed), I respectfully submit that it is my conviction that the report of your committee as made public in 1905 has not been generally accepted as satisfactory, because your proceedings were conducted in private and you have not made public the "pleadings" and testimony upon which it rests.

I am further convinced that our absolute silence in the face of the continued attacks against me, and through me, against the University, is producing increasingly serious injury to the reputation of the University, as I know it is doing to my reputation as a scholar and a man, and I feel that the suffering and constant mental strain to which I have been for more than two years subjected, by reason of the continued malicious attacks and insinuations against me, cannot be longer endured by me in silence with a preservation of my self-respect. I therefore respectfully request that you either,

1. Cause the publication of all the correspondence, documents, and evidence bearing upon this matter, presented before and during the investigation conducted by your committee in the year 1905, together with extracts from Volume XX of Series A of *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania,* reviews and critiques thereon, and correspondence in your possession and mine, both before and since 1905, bearing upon the controversy; or—

2. Cause to be published all or such portions of the record of your committee of investigation as you may deem proper, with permission to

me personally to make publication of all material bearing upon the matter, as above indicated, of which you did not make use, in a personal supplemental statement to be issued by me relating to the matter; or—

3. Permit me personally to make the entire publication and furnish me with that portion of the data possessed by you alone.

Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) H. V. HILPRECHT

P. S. While appreciating that you may not be in a position to determine at once how this matter must be treated as to the details, permit me to add that to me it seems necessary that you forthwith make public announcement (or permit me to do so), that publication of the full details of this matter will be made as speedily as possible.

H. V. H.

January 7, '08

[*Letter from Professor Bewer, secretary of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis to Professor Hilprecht*]

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, 700 Park Avenue, New York
January 4, 1908

Professor H. V. Hilprecht, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, held in Philadelphia, December 31, 1907, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

> WHEREAS, Charges reflecting on American oriental scholarship have been made against Professor H. V. Hilprecht:
>
> *Resolved*, That this Society shares the desire expressed by a number of American orientalists that a complete reply to these charges be made in the *Journal* of this Society or elsewhere.

Yours truly,
(Signed) JULIUS A. BEWER
Corresponding Secretary

[*Letter from Mr. Edward Robins, assistant-secretary of the University of Pennsylvania, to Professor Hilprecht*]

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
Office of the Secretary

PHILADELPHIA, January 8, 1908

DEAR PROFESSOR HILPRECHT: I am instructed by the Trustees of the University to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to them, which was received on January 7, a few hours before the stated meeting of the Corporation.

Your letter was read to the Board, and I was instructed to send you a copy of the minute showing the action thereupon taken. It is as follows:

> A communication from Professor Hilprecht, dated January 6, 1908, upon the subject-matter of the so-called "Peters-Hilprecht Controversy," having been submitted to the Board, it was, after a full consideration of the subject—
>
> *Resolved*, That the Board approved of Professor Hilprecht's proposal to publish the entire correspondence, documents, and evidence bearing upon the question, and that any information in the possession of the University which he may call for be furnished to him.

Very respectfully yours,

EDWARD ROBINS

Assistant-Secretary

[*Document No. 3, accompanying letter to Professor Charles R. Lanman, Cambridge, Mass., dated January 15, 1908*]

PHILADELPHIA, January 15, 1908

Dr. John P. Peters, in presenting (by means of two documents, one dated January 11, 1905, and one undated, but sent to Philadelphia shortly prior to that date), his "suspicions" or charges against me, suggested that the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania conduct "a full investigation and one which goes beyond the mere asking Professor Hilprecht about these mistakes," by making use of the knowledge and abilities of members of their staff, namely, Messrs. Fisher, Clay, Ranke, and Jastrow. He further stated that to his surprise, the subject-matter of his communications was already more widely known than he had supposed, "and the very worst is believed"—that a proposition had been made to publish the whole matter at a meeting held in Boston at the end of December, 1904, and publish it in the papers. This he had opposed, urging the "asking for an investigation on the part of the Trustees."

Dr. Peters continued, "I believe that it must be a thorough and searching investigation, but in the best interest of science, as well as of the University, if such an investigation is made, it should not be published. Such publication would be a great scandal and would only do injury;" adding, "I am doing everything in my power to prevent it from being published, or to prevent an unfair and unjust judgment being made in advance."

The two documents above referred to were placed in my hands, with the request to answer them, about January 20, 1905, and in returning them on January 24, 1905, I made to the Provost of the University the following requests:

> 1. That at your earliest convenience you call an extra session of the entire Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, before which both Rev. Dr. John P. Peters, as my accuser, and I, as defendant, be summoned.

2. That the two documents referred to above, in their present form, be read in the presence of the entire assembly.

3. That in addition, Rev. Dr. John P. Peters be asked to explain what precisely he means by these charges preferred against me, and that a stenographical record be kept of his answers.

4. That I then be authorized to answer these charges in the presence of this entire assembly, and that a stenographical record be kept also of my answers.

5. That afterwards both Rev. Dr. John P. Peters and I be informed in writing of the charges, answers, and findings in this case by the Board of Trustees.

6. That, contrary to the threefold proposal of Rev. Dr. John P. Peters, on p. 4 of his letter of January 11, referred to above ("to prevent publication"), the results, as obtained by the Board, be given the widest publicity, and in order to protect me against similar attacks hinted at in Dr. Peters' letter, I, in particular, be allowed to publish:

a) The two documents of said Rev. Dr. John P. Peters,
b) The stenographical records of his and my answers,
c) The result of the investigation by your Board.

H. V. HILPRECHT

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL

OF

SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

(CONTINUING HEBRAICA)

VOLUME XXIV JULY, 1908 NUMBER 4

THE TEMPLES OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

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It is the purpose of this article to put into the hand of the student of Assyriology an outline sketch of the history of the temples of Babylonia and Assyria. Accordingly a special effort has been made to give all the important references to the temples in the historical literature, while less attention has been given to the references in the religious, legal, business, and epistolary literature. The names in the lists of temples published in II R., 61, and by Pinches in Vol. XXII of the *PSBA*, have been included here, since in some cases the notes added are of value. Such names as are found only as component parts of proper names have not been included.[1] The work of Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, has been of great service in the preparation of this article, and should be consulted for the literature on the inscriptions there treated.[2]

For the temple as a religious institution Jastrow's *Religion* should be consulted; on the other hand, a discussion of the temple as a banking institution will be found in John's *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters.* Attention should also be called to the interesting ritual to be used at the rebuilding of a temple published by Weissbach in his *Miscellen*, pp. 32 f.

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[1] Cf. the lists of proper names in Reisner's *Tempel Urkunden aus Telloh;* Ranke, *Personal Names;* Tallquist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch;* Hilprecht and Clay, Vol. IX, and Clay, Vols. X, XIV, XV of the *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.*

[2] In fairness to myself I should state that I had gone over all the published material to which I had access, and had noted all the references to the temples before the appearance of Thureau-Dangin's work. Since the literature on the inscriptions is fully treated in the footnotes to the German edition of the work, I have thought it unnecessary to multiply references here. The abbreviations have been made to conform with those of Thureau-Dangin.

The etymologies of the temple names are to be considered merely as suggestions. Another article will be devoted exclusively to this subject.

Ê-AB-MAḪ; cf. Ê-EŠ-MAḪ.

Ê-ABZU, temple of the apsu, ὠκεανός. Temple of Ea at Eridu, Ḫammurabi Code II, 1;[3] *PSBA*, XXII, 362; *BA*, V, 589. The abzu was a part of the old temples; cf. Ur-ninâ, builder of the abzu, *T-DSA*, p. 4*d* and following; index, p. 241.

Adad, temple of; cf. Anu and Adad.

Ê-AD-DA, temple of the father, temple of Enlil, built by Entemena, *Déc. ép.*,[4] XLVI, rev. col. i, 4–7; *CT*, X, 86900, 21–24; rebuilt by Urukagina, *Catalogue de Clercq*, II, VIII, No. 1, col. iii, 7–9; *Déc. ép.*, XLIX, 35–37.

A-ḪUŠ, Ê-IGI-ZI(D)-BAR-RA, the raging water, the temple upon which he (the god) looks with favor; built by Entemena for Ningirsu, *Déc. ép.*, XLVI, col. iii, 2–4; *CT*, X, 86900, 11–13; desecrated by the soldiers of Gišḫu, in the time of Urukagina, *Revue d'Assyriologie*,[5] VI, 26 f., col. ii, 2.

Ê-A-KAL-UŠ . . . . , temple of the mighty power of . . . . , cf. *PSBA*, XXII, 370.

(Bît) A-ki-it, house of the New Year's feast, no doubt a shrine in all the temples where a New Year's feast was held; cf. *akîtu* in the lexicons. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*,[6] III, 268; RFHarper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*,[7] VIII, No. 858; Meissner-Rost, *Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, K 1356, 2; Ašurbanipal, V R., 10 f., *Rassam Cylinder*, X, 28; the East India House inscription of Nebuchadrezzar[8] IV, 7 f. During the troublesome times of Nabonidus this feast was frequently omitted, cf. Ê-SAGILA. See Ê-SIGIŠE-SIGIŠE.

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[3] RFHarper, *The Code of Ḫammurabi*, quoted as *CḪ*.

[4] *Découvertes en Chaldée*, par Ernest de Sarzec, referred to as *Déc.* or *Déc. ép.*, in case the *partie épigraphique* is meant.

[5] Hereafter *RA*.

[6] Hereafter *BA*.

[7] *HL*.

[8] *Neb.*, *EIH*, in I R., 53 f.

Ê-^{d}AMA-GEŠTIN, temple of the "mother of wine," desecrated by the troops of Gišḫu in the time of Urukagina, *RA*, VI, 28, col. vii, 1–5.

Ê-^{d}A-MAL (?), temple in Babylon whose foundation was laid by Šargani-šar-ali, Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*,[9] No. 118.

Ê-AMAŠ-AZAG, temple of the bright fold, a temple in Dûr-ilu, II R., 61, 36*gh*.

Ê-AMAŠ-KALAM-MA, temple of the fold of the nations, II R., 61, 18*g;* cf. Ê-TUR-KALAMMA.

Ê-A-MER, the ziggurrat of the temple of Ningirsu in Lagaš, built by Gudea, Price, *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea*, *Cyl. A*, XXV, 12, 13. That this is to be considered a ziggurrat follows from l. 13, where it is compared to a mountain of lapis-lazuli.

Ê-AM-KUR-KUR-RA, temple of the lord (?) of the lands, temple of Bêl in Aššur, cf. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*,[10] No. 21, p. 51, where the name is translated "temple of the wildox of the lands," and AM = rîmu is interpreted as a figurative title of Bêl as the ruler of lands; *ibid.*, 26, p. 43, inscription of Tukulti-Ninib (I), in which he calls himself builder of Ê-AM-U-KUR-KUR-RA, *ibid.*, 25, p. 68, Ašir-nirari, builder of the temple of Bêl-šipria; cf. also *ibid.*, 27, p. 15.[11]

Amurru, temple of the god Amurru (^{d}MAR-TU), rebuilt by Tiglath-pileser I; cf. King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*,[12] Vol. I, pp. 27 f., col.vi, 87.

Ê-AN-DA-DI-A, the ziggurrat of Agade II R., 50, 9*ab*.

Ê-AN-KI, temple of heaven and earth, II R., 61, 29*g*.

Ê-AN-NA, the temple of heaven,

a) In Lagaš, built by Eannatum for Innina, *Stele of Vultures*,[13] IV, 5, 6; V, 26–29. Burned by the troops of Gišḫu in the time of Urukagina, *RA*, VI, 26 f., col. iv, 5 f.

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[9] *RTC.*

[10] *MDOG.*

[11] The reader is referred for the reports of the excavations carried on by the Germans at Assur and Babylon to the *MDOG*. When the inscriptions found at these sites are published they will no doubt add many references to those here given under Ê-AM-KUR-KUR-RA, Anu and Adad temple, ÊSAGILA, etc.

[12] King, *Annals*.

[13] For the text cf. references in *T-DSA*, p. 10.

b) In Girsu, one of the precincts of Lagaš; built for Innina by Gudea, *Statue C*, *Déc.*, pl. 13, No. 1, III, 12, 13; *T-DSA*, 144*z*.

c) In Ur, built for Innina by Dungi,[14] *CT*, XXI, 10, 90897.

Bur-sin, king of Ur built a temple for Innina, in Ur (?), *CT*, III, 12156.

d) In Erech; Sin-gašid, builder of Ê-ANNA in Erech (?), *CT*, XXI, 12, 90267. Ur-^{d}Engur built a temple, Ê-ANNA (?) for Innina in Erech, I R., 1, No. 6. Ḫammurabi calls himself "the lord who gave life to Erech, who raised the turrets (rêš) of Ê-ANNA," *CḪ*, II, 37–43.

Esarhaddon restored the temple Ê-ANNA of Ištar of Erech, which had been built by a former king, and cared for all its shrines; cf. Ê-NIRGALANNA, *BA*, III, 351 f.; cf. 260 f.

Ašurbanipal, *Rassam Cyl.*, VI, 107 f., tells how he brought back from Elam Nanâ,[15] who had been angry for sixteen hundred and thirty-five years, and restored her to Ê-ANNA in Erech, placing her in the shrine Ê-ŠAR-GUB-AN-NA. Nebuchadrezzar tells us in the *Grotefend Cylinder*,[16] col. ii, 50–60, that he restored the ancient splendor and ceremonies of Ištar-Innina, the brilliant lady of Erech, returned to Erech its protecting deity (šêdu) and to Ê-ANNA its gracious protector (lamasu). The old platform-foundation of Ê-ANNA he searched for and found, and upon this he laid the foundation of the new Ê-ANNA; V R., 34, II, 33; *Neb. Winckler*,[17] II, 63; *Wâdi Brîsa*,[18] VIII, 1 f., and *Nahr el-Kelb*,[19] III, 9 f. Nabonidus may have restored this temple, although we have no direct evidence; cf. I R., 69, I, 18, II, 21, III, 51, and the *Annals*[20] IV, 5.

Karaindaš built a shrine in Ê-ANNA for Ištar-Innina, the lady of Ê-ANNA, NIN-Ê-ANNA, in Erech (?), IV R., 36, 3. Marduk-apluiddina built Ê-ANNA for Innina, the lady of the lands. I R., 5, XVII.

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[14] The name of the mound from which the inscription came is not given in *CT*. Was the temple located in Ur?

[15] Ašurbanipal here identifies Ištar-Innina and Ištar-Nanâ. At what period this identification became common cannot be determined. In the reign of Sumula-ilum they were separate goddesses; cf. the chronicle for the year 26 of his reign, King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi*, quoted as *LIḪ*, III, 218; cf. also *HL*, III, 274, where we have Ištar-Innina of Erech and Nanâ mentioned together.

[16] *Neb. Grot.*, I R., 65 f.

[17] In Abel-Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, 33–38.

[18] Weissbach, *Inschriften Nebukadnezars II.*

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *BA*, II, 214 f.

e) In the religious literature: a version of the Creation Story, *CT*, XIII, pl. 35 f.: "Erech had not been created, Ê-anna had not been built." Prayer to Ištar, King, *Seven Tablets*, I, p. 226, 28; Craig, *Religious Texts*, XIX, 15; Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*;[21] *Šurpu* II, 168.

f) In proper names: Ê-anna-šum-iddina, *OBI*,[22] 31, l. 7; in addition to Reisner, cf. above, p. 291, *CT*, III, 21, 336; 21, 338; *ibid.*, V, 18933, obv. 10; *ibid.*, VII, 18419 obv., 18436 rev.; *ibid.*, X, 12922, II, 30.

Ê-an-nu-ni-tum, temple of the goddess Anunîtum in Babylon, whose foundation Šargani-šar-ali laid, *RTC*, 118; cf. Ê-a-mal; Gimil-Sin built a temple for Anunîtum, "his wife," *CT*, XXI, 90, 844.

Ê-ᵈa-nu-ni-tum ša libbi . . . . *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 9. Cf. Ê-ul-maš for a discussion of Anunîtum.

Ê-anšu-dur, mule-house, temple built by Ur-bau for the god Ensignun, the mule-herd of the god Ningirsu, *T-DSA*, p. 247.

An-ta-sur-ra, shining height (?), perhaps a part of the temple of Ningirsu, Eannatum, *Déc. ép.*, XLIII, col. v, 1–3; Entemena built the Antasurra, Ê-me-lam-bi kur-kur-ra-a-túg, of the temple whose splendor covers the lands, *ibid.*, XLVI, rev. 1–3; *ibid.*, XLVII, col. iv, 30; Urukagina built the Antasurra of Ningirsu, Ê-ḫe-gál-kalam-ma-ni, of the temple of the overflow of the land, *ibid.*, XLIX, 5–7; *RA*, VI, 29, col. i, 4; *Déc. ép.*, L, col. iv, 7; cf. Hommel, *Geographie*, p. 247.

Anu and Adad, temples of, at Aššur. According to Tiglath-pileser I,[23] col. vii, 60 f., this temple was built by Šamši-Adad, the son of Išme-Dagan, six hundred and forty-one years before his reign. Ašur-dan the son of Ninib-apil-Êkur, had pulled down that temple but had not rebuilt it. This was sixty years before Tiglath-pileser. This king rebuilt it from "foundation to roof," and raised aloft two mighty ziggurrats worthy of their great divinities; cf. in the some inscription, col. ii, 62, iv, 6, 32 f., viii; King, *Annals*, I, 127; *MDOG*, 27, 14, and all the succeeding numbers.

Ê-a-nun . . . . temple of Lugal-girra, II R., 61, 21*ab*.

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[21] *BBR.*

[22] Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions.*

[23] King, *Annals*, I, 27 f.

Ê-AN-ZA-ḲAR, temple of the pillar (?), II R., 61, 2*g*.

Ê-A-RA-GIŠ-BAR . . . . *PSBA*, XXII, 36, 2, II, 6; cf. Br. 11547.

Ê-A-RA-LI, temple of the underworld, II R., 61, 18*c*.

Ê-A-RA-ZU-GIŠ-TUG, temple of the hearing of prayer, temple of Marduk(?), *PSBA*, XXIII, plate fol. p. 188; cf. Br. 11548.

Ê-ARATTA^{ki}, temple of the town Aratta, II R., 61, 5*g*.

AŠ-GAN, dwelling of the god . . . . , *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 11.

Ê-^{d}AŠ-^{d}MAḪ, temple of the one supreme god, so Pinches, *PSBA*, XXII, 366.

Ê-^{d}AŠ-RA-TUM, temple of the goddess Ašratum, *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 12; cf. *KAT*^{3}, 432 f.

Aššur, temples of the god; Uspia is called the builder of the temple of Aššur, *MDOG*, 25, p. 68; Erišum restored it, *ibid.;* Šamši-Adad, son of Igur-kapkapu, builder of the temple of Aššur, King, *Annals*, I, p. 2, also *ibid.*, note 4, where the same Šamši-Adad or an earlier one is mentioned. Adad-nirari I restored the muslala of the temple of Aššur, *ibid.*, p. 7. Aššur-rêš-iši calls himself priest of Aššur, as do all his successors, all of whom no doubt cared for the temples of Aššur. Esarhaddon, Layard, 19, No. 1; *BA*, III, 351, 16; cf. *HL*, 419 rev., 14; 429;[24] 433 rev. 9; 555 obv. 10.

AŠ-TE-KI-EL, servant's throne, dwelling of . . . . *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 8.

Ê-BABBARA, the brilliant temple, temple of the sun-god Šamaš. Urukagina repaired Ê-BÀR-BÀR, cf. *T-DSA*, 44 f. This may refer to a temple at Larsa, but more likely to one at Lagaš.[25] The troops of Gišḫu desecrated this temple, *RA*, VI, 29 col. ii, 6, 7. This again points to Lagaš as the probable seat of the temple which Urukagina repaired; cf. also Gudea, *Cyl. A*, X, 24; cf. *Statue B*, VIII, 61; perhaps also Eannatum, *Stele of Vultures*, rev. col. i, 39. A shrine of BABBAR (Šamaš) was built by Entemena, *Déc. ép.*, XLVII, col. ii, 17.

a) In Larsa: Ur-engur built the temple of Babbar at Larsa, *CT*, XXI, 5, 90001 = I R., 1, No. 7. Sin-idinnam, *BA*, I, 305;

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[24] For a translation of this interesting letter see *BA*, IV, 517.

[25] Whether we have shrines of one god in the temples of others, as was later the case, cf. Êzida a shrine in Ê-sagila, is uncertain.

Lenormant, *Choix de textes*, No. 6; *CT*, XXI, 30, 30215. Rîm-sin, Price, *Literary Remains of Rîm-sin*,[26] pp. 14, 15; *OBI*, 128; I R., 3, X; cf. *T-DSA*, p. 237. Ḫammurabi built this temple in Larsa for Šamaš who gave him Sumer and Akkad to rule. *LIḪ*, 180, 183; I R., 4, XV, 2; *CḪ*, II, 34, XLIV, 76; Samsu-iluna wrote a letter concerning grain due the storehouse of this temple, *LIḪ*, 119; cf. date *ibid.*, p. 224, 18. Burnaburiaš restored the ruined temple Ê-babbara, I R., 4 XIII. Nebuchadrezzar rebuilt this temple for Šamaš and Aia, *Grot.*, II, 42, 43; cf. V R., 34, col. ii, 34; I R., 51, Nos. 2 and 5; *Neb. Winckl.*, col. ii, 64; *Wâdi Brîsa*, VIII, 10 f. Nabonidus in the large inscription from Ur, I R., 69, col. i, 43 f., tells us that Nebuchadrezzar rebuilt Ê-babbara on the platform-foundation of Burnaburiaš, while he rebuilt it on the foundation of Ḫammurabi; cf. *PSBA*, XI, p. 92, col. i, 31 f. It is from this inscription, col. ii, 20 f., that we learn that Ḫammurabi's temple was built seven hundred years before Burnaburiaš.

b) In Sippar: Built by Narâm-sin the son of Sargon, according to Nabonidus; cf. below. Ḫammurabi rebuilt this temple, *CḪ*, II, 30.[27] Rebuilt in the eighth year of Zabum, *LIḪ*, 220; rebuilt in the eighteenth year of Samsu-iluna, *ibid.*, 244. Abîšu', *ibid.*, 147; cf. Ê-di-kud-kalamma. Nabû-aplu-iddina tells us (V R., 60, 61; cf. *ZA*, IV, 325 f.; *BA*, I, 269 f.) that the Suti had destroyed Ê-babbara in Sippar, that he rebuilt it and renewed the cult. A similar but unsuccessful attempt had been made by a predecessor of his, Simmaš-šiḫu, king of Babylon. Cf. *Babylonian Chronicle*, II, 36 f., and IV, 9 f., from which we learn that Sippar was invaded by Elamites in the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. A man of Sippar restored Ê-babbara for the life of his lord Šamaš-šum-ukîn and for the life of Aššurbanipal, *ZA*, III, 416. Nebuchadrezzar, *Grot.*, II, 40, 41; V R., 34, col. ii, 28; *ZA*, II, 129 f., and *PSBA*, XI, 124–30; *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 59; *ZA*, II, 169 f., col. i, 23 f.; *Wâdi Brîsa*, VII, 62 f. Nabonidus informs us, V R., 64, col. ii, 47 f., that he rebuilt this temple, restored by Nebuchadrezzar forty-five years previously. According to this inscription Nebuchadrezzar searched for the original platform-foundation but did not find it. Nabonidus renewed the search and found the platform-foundation of Narâm-Sin, son of Sargon, which had not been seen for three thousand two hundred years.[28] On this foundation he rebuilt Ê-BABBARA, not varying an inch from the ancient measurements; cf. V R., 63, col. i, 17 f.; *ZA*, V, 399 f.

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[26] *LRR.*

[27] Winckler thinks the stele on which the code was written stood in the temple at Sippar, p. vii of his edition.

For hundreds of references to this temple in the contract literature see the Strassmaier Texts, Tallquist, *Die Sprache der Kontracte Nabûnâid's;* Ranke, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon.* For the name of this temple in proper names, cf. p. 291; cf. also II R., 61, 44*gh; PSBA*, XXII, 362; Strassmaier, *Warka*, No. 1; *T-DSA*, 236.

There was probably a Šamaš shrine in Babylon, perhaps in Ê-SAGILA. Agumkakrime, when he brought back Marduk and Sarpanîtum from the distant Ḫani-land, placed them in the house of Šamaš, into the rear shrine, V R., 33, col. i, 44–col. ii, 23.

Ê-BA-BI, Reisner, *TU*, 26, XIV, 19; 111, II, 21, III, 10; 115, II, 7; 306, 2; *CT*, 12922, III.

Ê-babili (DIN-TIR^{ki}), reference to Ê-SAGILA, Reisner, *Hym.*, 41 rev. 8.

Ê-BA-GÁ, in a date in *RTC*, 212; cf. BA-GÁ, part of a temple, *T-DSA*, p. 244.

Ê-BARA-A-RI-A, temple of the (firmly) founded sanctuary, so Pinches, *PSBA*, XXII, 365; cf. Br. 11460.

Ê-BARA-IGI-E-DI, temple of wonders (cf. Br. 9360) the ziggurrat of Dumuzi at Agade, II R., 50, 11*ab*.

Ê-BARA-SU-GAR-RA, *PSBA*, XXII, 365; cf. Br. 6910.

Ê-BÁ-ŠA-IŠ; cf. *T-DSA*, p. 231, 37, 38, 39.

Ê-^{d}BA-U, temple of the goddess Bau in Lagaš. Urninâ presents an onyx cup to Bau, *Déc. ép.*, XXXVII, 11. Urukagina built a temple to Bau, *Cat. Clercq*, II, VIII, No. 1, col. iii, 5, 6; Cone, *Déc. ép.*, L, col. i, 10, 11; *ibid.*, LI, LII, col. i, 10, 11; *ibid.*, L, V, 8, 9. Ur-bau built a Bau temple in Uru-azag, one of the precincts of Lagaš, *Déc.*, 7, 8; *T-DSA*, 60*a*, 62*cfg*. Gudea,

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[28] For a discussion of this date see any work on Babylonian history.

Statue D, col. iii, 13–iv, 1; *Statue E*, col. iii, 16 f.; *Statue G*, col. v, 8 f.[29] Cf. Ê-SIL-SIR-SIR.

Bêl, temple of, see Ê-KUR. The temple of Bêl-labiru, rebuilt by Tiglath-pileser I, King, *Annals* I, 87, col. vi, 87.

Bêlit temple; cf. Strassmaier, *Cambyses*, 24.

Bêlit babili, temple of the goddess of Babylon, *HL*, 119, rev. 11; *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 3.

Ê-bêlit-mâti (KALAMA), temple of the lady of the world, *RA*, II, 91. A bronze statuette from the time of Aššur-dan.

Ê-BUR-GAR-DU(RU), II R., 61, 4*a*.

Ê-BUR-GUB-GUB(?), II R., 61, 3*a*.

Ê-BUR-NA-ŠU-A, *PSBA*, XXII, 365.

BUR-SAG, Urukagina built the BUR-SAG where the heavenly gifts are offered; cf. *T-DSA*, index.

Ê-^{d}Bur-^{d}Sin, temple of the deified king Bur-Sin of Ur, Reisner, *TU*, 10, rev. 1.

Ê-^{d}DA-GAN, temple of Dagan, *HL*, 615, rev. 3. Perhaps also 724, obv. 9.

Ê-DAM, part of temple, built by Ur-nina in Lagaš; cf. *T-DSA*, pp. 3–4*B*, *D*, *E*; *Déc. ép.*, XXXVI, 1, col. ii, 5, 6; *ibid.*, XXXVI, 4, 17, 18; *Déc.*, 2ter, No. 4, 12–13.

^{d}DAM-GAL-NUN-NA, temple of, built by Dungi in Nippur, *OBI*, No. 123.

Ê-DARA-AN-NA, temple of the darkness of heaven, Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, l. 14.

Ê-DI-KUD-KALAM-MA, temple of the judge of the world, temple of Šamaš in Babylon, built by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 31–34; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 48; *Wâdi Brîsa*, IX, 26, VI, 3. Perhaps the same temple was mentioned in *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 30.

Ê-DILMUN-NA, temple of Dilmun, II R., 61, 9*c*; *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 2.

Ê-DILMUN-NA-ŠA, II R., 61, 10*c*.

Ê-DIM-AN-NA, temple of the bond of heaven, built by Nebuchadrezzar for Sin in the court of Ê-zida in Borsippa, *EIH*, IV, 63–65; cf. Ê-DUR-AN-KI.

Ê-DIM-GAL-ABZU, temple of the tarkullu of the apsu, a temple at Lagaš, Entemena, Cone IV, 31 = *Déc. ép.*, XLVII; cf. Gudea, *Cyl. B*, XII, 16, for the god DIM-GAL-ABZU.

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[29] The references for the Statues of Gudea will be found in the footnotes of *T-DSA*, 66 f.

Ê-DIM-GAL-KALAM-MA, temple of the tarkullu of the world, Gudea, *Cyl. B*, I, 1, 2; cf. *T-DSA*, 270, and *KB*, VI, 496. A shrine DIM-GAL-KALAM-MA, Sargon, *Cyl.* (Lyon), 54. A temple of Anu at Dûr-ilu, Esarhaddon, *BA*, III, 351, 20; *Šurpu*, II, 160.

Dir, temple of Dir, Nebuchadrezzar (I), V R., 56, 49.

Ê-DU-AZAGA, temple of the brilliant shrine, the shrine where the king of the gods of heaven and earth, Marduk, decrees the fate of kings at the New Year's feast; covered with gold by Nebuchadrezzar. A former king had used silver in its construction, *EIH*, II, 54 f.; cf. *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 5;[30] *ibid.*, XXIII, 200, Ê-DU-AZAG-GA, temple of the god Lugal-azaga.

Ê-DUL-LA, part, factory (?), of temples, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, XXV, 4; cf. *T-DSA*, p. 116, *ZA*, XVIII, 133, and perhaps II R., 61, 25, 26*g*. Cf. Prince, *Lex.*, p. 95.

Ê-^{d}DUMU-ZI, temple of Tammuz, Reisner, *TU*, 5, IV, 2; 92, II, 27; 117, VI, 20; 118, II, 2; 147, II; 150, X, 4; 164 rev. 2; *CT*, V, 12912, col. vii, 21; IX, 21245; X, 12922, V.

Ê-^{d}DUMU-ZI-ABZU, destroyed by the troops of Gišḫu in the time of Urukagina, *RA*, VI, 29, obv. col. v, 9; cf. Gudea, *Statue B*, IX, 2, 3.

Ê-DUMU-ZI-ša-nisâti, (KI-BAD) temple of Tammuz of the distant place, *PSBA*, XXII, 359.

Ê-DU-NA, II R., 61, 10*g*.

Ê-^{d}DUN-GI, temple of the deified king Dungi, *RTC*, No. 424; cf. *T-DSA*, p. 231. Reisner, *TU*, 5, VI, 6; 10, rev., 3; 17, VII, 16; 59, 2; 101, I, 12; 117, VII, 23; 118, II, 3; 119, XI, 16, XIV, 5; *CT*, V, 12912, III, 24; VII, 1293, 4, IV, 6, 12930, IV, 10; 12939, IV; IX, 21245; X, 12922, IV.

Ê-DUR-AN-KI, temple of the bond of heaven and earth, ziggurrat of Larsa, II R., 50, 19*ab; PSBA*, XXII, 365.

Ê-DUR-GARZA; cf. Ê-KI-DUR-GARZA.

Ê-DUR-GI-NA, temple of the lasting abode; rebuilt in Baz for Bêl-ṣarbi (^{d}LUGAL-GIŠ-A-TU-GAB-LIŠ) by Nebuchadrezzar, *Grot.*, II, 48, 49; V R., 34, II, 29, 30; *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 60; *Wâdi Brîsa*, VII, 67 f., and *Nahr el-Kelb*, III, 1 f.

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[30] Not written in the text, but given so by Pinches in transliteration.

Ê-^{d}E-A, temple of the god Ea, II R., 61, 46 f., temple of Ea of Eridu. Shrine of Ea at Khorsabad built by Sargon, I R., 36, 52; cf. Ê-EN-KI.

Ê-EDIN-NA, temple of the steppe, temple of Bêlit of Sippar, built by Nabopolassar, *Nabop. Winckl.*, b,[31] col. ii; cf. Abel-Winckler *Keilschrifttexte*, 32; II R., 61, 14*g*.

Ê-ENGUR-RA, temple of the apsu, temple of Ninâ in Lagaš, built by Entemena, *T-DSA*, 36*m*. From the name Ê-ENGUR-RA-KA-LUM-MA, *Déc. ép.*, XLVI, col. iv, 3, it would seem as though this temple had been built to Ninâ as the patron of the date-groves. Desecrated by the troops of Gišḫu in the time of Urukagina, *RA*, VI, 29, rev. i, 6, 7. In King's *Babylonian Magic*, No. 4, l. 14, we have a reference to the Bêlit of Ê-ENGUR-RA, that is, Damkina, the wife of Ea; in No. 9, Marduk is addressed as the mighty, brilliant lord of Eridu, first-born of Ea, who causes Ê-ENGUR-RA to rejoice; cf. No. 53, 3; 58, 18; *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 4, Ê-ENGUR-RA the abode of E[a].

Ê-EN-KÁR, Gudea, *Cyl. B*, VII, 13.

^{d}EN-KI, i. e., Ea, temple of, built by Ur-bau in Girsu, *Déc. ép.*, V, col. iv, 11–v, 1; *Déc.*, pl. 27, No. 2; pl. 8^{bis}, No. 2. Dungi built a temple to ^{d}EN-KI, *CT*, III, 17287.

^{d}EN-LIL, temples of, cf. Ê-KUR. A shrine of Enlil in Lagaš was desecrated by the troops of Gišḫu in the time of Urukagina, *RA*, VI, 29, obv. 1, 12.

Ê-EŠ-BAR-ME-LUḪ-ḪA, temple of the oracle of Meluḫḫa, II R., 61, 13*c*.

EŠ-GÚ-TÚR, temple of NIN-MAR^{ki} built by Ur-bau, *Déc. ép.*, V, col. v, 11, 12; cf. *KB*, III^{1}, 25, for an etymology of the name.

Ê-EŠ-MAḪ, great house; cf. Pinches in *PSBA*, XXII, 365. Perhaps Ê-EŠ . . . . of II R., 61, 16*a*, is the same temple, although Ê-EŠ-GU-TUR might be read in view of the fact that it is called a temple of Girsu.

EŠ-^{d}NIN-DUB, dwelling of the god NIN-DUB, built by Gudea, *Cyl. B*, VI, 3; cf. I R., 5, XXIII, 1. This temple was in Girsu.

Ê-GAB-RI-NU-TUK, the temple without an equal, II R., 61, 27*g*.[32]

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[31] *ZA*, II, 172 f.

[32] Cf. Sargon's palace referred to as Ê-GAL-BI GAB-RI NU-TUK, *ZA*, II, 346.

Ê-GAD-A-RI-A, II R., 61, 12*c;* cf. Br. 2705, 11453, and above, Ê-BARA-A-RI-A.

Ê-GAL-^{d} . . . . palace of the god . . . . , II R., 61, 22*a.*

Ê-^{d}GAL-ALIM, temple of the god Gal-alim; cf. Ê-ME-ḪUŠ-GAL-AN-KI, and *T-DSA*, index; *CT*, V, 12912, III, 8; VI, 12934, III, 18; IX, 20011 obv. 20; 21245 rev. 3; X, 12922, III.

Ê-GAL-IM, perhaps, palace of the wind, Craig, *Religious Texts*, p. 39, 33, where the god Amurru (MAR-TU) is called lord of Ê-GAL-IM.

Ê-GAL-MAḪ, the great palace, temple in Isin, abundantly provided for by Ḫammurabi, *CḪ*, II, 49–54. Kurigalzu restored a ruined Ê-GAL-MAḪ, but this temple seems to have been near or in Mugheir, I R., 4, XIV, No. 2; cf. Craig *RT*, 58, 25; Reisner *Hym.*, 83, 7; Clay, *Murašû*, X, p. 40, in the name Ardi-Ê-GAL-MAḪ.

Ê-GAL-TAG, II R., 61, 26*c.*

Ê-GA-NI-NUN-ḪE-DU, *PSBA*, XXII, 367.

Ê-GALU . . . . *PSBA*, XXII, 370, B 12.

Ê-GALU-BIR-UḪ (?) II R., 61, 43, 45*ab.*

Ê-GALU-DAGAL-MIL (?) II R., 61, 41, 44*ab.*

Ê-GALU-GA, temple of Nergal II R., 61, 19*ab;* cf. Br. 6003.

Ê-GALU-KAR-RA (?), a temple in Datuna, II R., 61*gh.*

Ê-GAN-GAL-DU-DU, ziggurrat of Maradda, II R., 50, 17*ab;* cf. Ê-IDI-KALAMA, Ê-LUGAL-AMAR (MARAD)-DA.

Ê-GAN-NUN . . . . II R., 61, 23*a.*

Ê-GAR-DIB-DIB, temple of the god NIN . . . . II R., 61, 14*c.*

Ê-GAR-DU-A, II R., 61, 33*g.*

Ê-GAR-RA, perhaps a temple of Pap-sukal (written PAP-U), a temple mentioned in a boundary inscription, *BA*, II, 203, 11.

Ê-^{d}GÀ-TUM-DUG, temple of the goddess Gatumdug in Lagaš, built by Ur-ninâ, *T-DSA*, 2*b*, 3 *e*, *g*, 6 *k*, *l;* probably rebuilt by Eannatum, *T-DSA*, 28*k;* rebuilt by Entemena, *Déc.*, pl. 5, 2; burned by the troops of Gišḫu in the time of Urukagina, *RA*, VI, 29, col. iii, 13–iv, 4. Gudea rebuilt this temple, *Statue F; Brick C;* cf. *T-DSA*, 140*c; Déc.*, pl. 24. 2. Mentioned in date *RTC*, No. 205; cf. Reisner, *TU*, 5, IV, 23; 15 rev. 4; 94, II, 22, 49; 95, VI, 9; 110, II, 29; 164, I, 4; 175 obv. 7; *CT*, III, 18343; V, 12912, VII; IX, 20011; X, 12922.

Ê-GE-BAR, temple of Sin in Ur, rebuilt by Nabonidus, I R., 68, No. 7.

Ê-GE-BAR-IMINA, the temple of the seven inner rooms, the ziggurrat of Erech, II R., 50, 20*ab*. Cf. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 170.

^{d}GEŠTIN-AN-NA, temple of, in Girsu, built by Ur-bau, *Déc.*, pl. 7, 8, col. vi, 5–8.

Ê-GI-DIM-DIM, the temple of the urullu-reed (?), a temple of Enlil, Craig *RT*, 58, 20.

Ê-GI-GIL (?), ziggurrat of Dûr-Kurigalzu, II R., 50, 7*ab*.

Ê-GIG-KISAL, temple built by Lipit-Ištar, to Ištar (?), *CT*, XXI, 18.

Ê-GI-NA-AB-TUM, temple of Šamaš at Larsa, built for Gungunu, I R., 2, No. vi, 1 = *CT*, XXI, 22, No. 30062; cf. Ê-BABBARA.

Ê-GIRA, dwelling of the god Nergal, *PSBA*, XXII, 367.

Ê-GIR-LAL . . . . the temple of the sword-bearer of . . . . *PSBA*, XXII, 367.

Ê-GIR-TAM (?), *PSBA*, XXII, 362.

Ê-GIŠ-GAR-RA, a part of E-NINNÛ, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, XXV, 1.

E-GIŠ-KIN-AN-KI-A, temple of the kiškanû of heaven and earth, temple of Ištar of Nineveh, built by Esarhaddon, *BA*, III, 297, rev. 41.

Ê-GIŠ-KIN-TI, *RTC*, No. 89. Perhaps of the time of Šarganišar-ali; cf. *T-DSA*, 225.

Ê-GIŠ-KU . . . . II R., 61, 25*a;* perhaps to be read GIŠ-TUK; see below.

Ê-GIŠ-NU-GAL; cf. Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL.

Ê-(GIŠ)-GAR-PA-KALAMA-SUM-MA, temple of the giver of the scepter of the world, temple of Nabû in Babylon, built by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 18–24; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 44; V R., 34, II, 7; *Wâdi Brîsa*, IX, 10. Nabonidus, *Annals*, III, 25; cf. Ê-PA-ṬU-TI-LA.

Ê-GIŠ-PU-RA, built for Ningirsu by Entemena, *T-DSA*, 32*d; Cat. Clercq*, II, VIII, No. 1, col. ii, 3–5. Rebuilt by Urukagina, *Déc. ép.*, XLIX, B; cf. Hommel, *Geo.*, 247.

Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL,[33] temple of Nannar in Ur, begun, according to

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[33] Cf. Jastrow in *ZA*, XIX, 135 f.

Nabonidus (cf. below), by Ur-engur and completed by Dungi his son. Cf. reference in inscription of Gungunu, *CT*, XXI, 22, 30062. Cared for by Arad-Sin, IV R., 35, No. 6; cf. *T-DSA*, 212*c*. Ḫammurabi calls himself the benefactor of Ur and Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL, *CḪ*, II, 16 f. Kurigalzu rebuilt this temple, I R., 5, XXI. Rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *Grot.*, II, 44, 45; V R., 34, II, 35; *Neb. Winckl.*, I 45, II, 65; I R., 8, No. 4; *Wâdi Brîsa*, VIII, 14 f., and *Nahr el-Kelb*, III, 19 f. Nabonidus restored the ziggurrat, Ê-LUGAL-GAR(?)-SI-DI, of this temple, I R., 68, Nos. 1 and 6; cf. I R., 69, col. i, 17, etc. Cf. also temple of Nannar.

Ê-GIŠ-TUK-PI-^{d}Nisaba, *PSBA*, XXII, 367.

Ê-GI-NUN-NA (cf. Br. 6705, 4790), II R., 61, 3*g*. In the old texts always written GI-UNU = gigunû, cemetery, abode of the dead. A part of Ê-NINNÛ, Gudea, *Statue B*, V, 18–20; *Statue D*, II, 9, 10; *Cyl. A*, XXIV, 20; cf. *ZA*, XVIII, 132. Rebuilt by Ur-ningirsu, son of Gudea, *Déc.*, pl. 37, No. 9. Arad-sin built a GI-UNU for Innina of Ḫallab, *T-DSA*, 214*e*.

Ê-GUB-BA-AN-KI, temple of the pillar (? some noun from nazâzu) of heaven and earth, the ziggurrat of Dilbat, II R., 50, 16*ab*.

Ê-GUD-DA, the lofty temple, II R., 61, 28*g*.

GULA, temples of. Aššurnaṣirpal built a temple of Gula, King, *Annals* I, 346, col. ii, 135. This temple was probably in Calah. Nebuchadrezzar built two Gula temples in Babylon, Ê-SA-BAD and Ê-ḪAR-SAG-EL-LA, and three in Borsippa, Ê-GU-LA, Ê-TI(L)-LA and Ê-ZI-BA-TI(L)-LA, *EIH*, IV, 38 f., IV, 52 f.; *Wâdi Brîsa*, X, 1 f., VI, 35 f. Cf. Labartu, *ZA*, XVI, 184, l. 23; *ZA*, IV, 126; and the frequent mention of the field of Gula in the Sippar texts by Friederich, *BA*, V.

Ê-GU-SI-DI, temple of the establishing of power, *PSBA*, XXII, 367.

Ê-ḪAD-KALAMA-SUM-MA; see Ê-GIŠ-GAR-PA-KALAMA-SUM-MA.

Ê-ḪAL-AN-KI, temple of the seer of heaven and earth, temple of Sarpanîtum(?), *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 7; and so no doubt also II R., 61, 24*ab*.

Ê-ḪAR-SAG-(GAL)-KUR-KUR-RA, temple of the great mountain of the lands; cf. temple of Aššur; temple of the god Aššur, mentioned by Adad-nirari I, King, *Annals*, I, 10; Tiglath-pileser, I, King, *Annals*, I, 31; called the bond of heaven and earth by Esarhaddon, *BA*, III, 297, rev. 46; cf. Sargon, *Annals* (Winckler), 415, and 436, where an Ê-ḪAR-SAG-GAL-KUR-KUR-RA is called the temple of Enlil; Craig, *RT*, 32, 8; *BA*, V, 596.

Ê-ḪAR-SAG-EL-LA, temple of the brilliant mountain, temple of Gula at Babylon, built by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 40–43; V R., 34, III, 9; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 46; *Wâdi Brîsa*, IX, 16.

Ê-ḪAR-ŠAB-BA, II R., 61, 19*g*.

Ê-ḪE-GAL-KALAM-MA, temple of the overflow of the land, another name for ANTASURRA, see above; built by Urukagina, *Déc. ép.*, XLIX, 5, 6; *ibid.*, L, col. i, 6, 7; cf. *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 31.

ᵈḪE-GIR, temple of the goddess, the beloved virgin of Ningirsu, built by Urukagina, *Déc. ép.*, L, col. v, 16–19.

Ê-ḪE-NUN, temple of the overflow, Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, 19.

Ê-ḪI-LI-ṢI, a shrine in Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL, rebuilt by Nabonidus, I R., 68, No. 6; perhaps also *PSBA*, XXII, 370 B, 5; cf. *CT*, XXI, 22, 30062.

Ê-ḪI-IM-GUR-RU, II R., 61, 30*g*.

Ê-ḪUL-ḪUL, temple of rejoicing,[34] temple of Sin of Ḫarrân, built, according to Nabonidus, by Aššurbanipal and destroyed by the barbarians. Rebuilt by Nabonidus, V R., 64, I, 8–II, 45; cf. *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 19.

Ê-ḪUR-ŠA(B)-BA, II R., 61, 19*g; PSBA*, XXII, 367.

Ê-ḪUŠ, part of Ê-NINNÛ, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, X, 19.

Ê-I-DE-ᵈA-NUM, temple of the eye of Anu (heaven), temple of the god Uraš of Dilbat, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 61 (the variant in *PSBA*, XI, 196 f. reads Ê-I-NE-AN-NA); V R., 34, II, 31; *Grot.*, II, 46; *Wâdi Brîsa*, VII, 71 f.; cf. Reisner, *Hym.*, 140, l. 179; 83, l. 12; *BA*, V, 574.

Ê-IGI . . . . , temple of Nergal of Paše, II R., 61, 15*ab;* Nergal, *do*, 17*ab*.

Ê-IGI-DU, temple of Ninib(?), *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 24.

Ê . . . . IGI-GAL, temple of the wise . . . . , *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 20.

Ê-IGI-E-IMINA, the ziggurrat of Eridu, II R., 50, 21*a*.

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[34] Cf. the epithet Ê-ŠA(G)-ḪUL-LA, frequently applied to temples.

Ê-IGI-E-NIR-KI-KU-MAḪ, the ziggurrat of the large abode, the ziggurrat of Kiš, that is, of Ê-ME-TE-UR-SAG, II R., 50, 12*ab;* restored by Ḫammurabi, King, *LIḪ*, III, 241, and also in the twenty-second year of Samsu-iluna, *ibid.*, 247.

Ê-IGI-E-SA(DI)-GAL-AN-KI, the temple of great astonishment of heaven and earth, the ziggurrat of IM^{ki}, II R., 50, 22*ab.*

Ê-IGI-KALAM-MA, temple of the eye of the world, cf. Ê-IDE-ANUM, temple of Lugal-maradda in Marad, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 62; *ZA*, II, 137 f., col. i, 28; cf. II R., 61, 20*c; Wâdi Brîsa*, VII, 73 f., and *Nahr el-Kelb*, III, 6 f.

Ê-IGI-SU-EN, II R., 61, 11*c.*

Ê-I-LU-AN-AZAG-GA, temple of the god of the bright heaven (ilu is here a Sumerian loan-word from the Semitic), the ziggurrat of Ê-BABBARA in Sippar, II R., 50, 8*ab;* Nabonidus rebuilt Ê-BABBARA together with Ê-I-LU-AN-AZAG-GA, its ziggurrat, V R., 64, III, 4*f.*

Ê-IM-GA . . . . , *PSBA*, XXII, 370, 6.

Ê-IM-ḪAR-SAG, temple of the lord(?) of the mountain, a ziggurrat of Nippur, II R., 50, 5*ab.*

Ê-IR-RA, temple of weeping, II R., 61, 17*c.*

^{d}Išme-karab, temple of, built by Temti-agum for the life of Kutir-naḫḫundi, *T-DSA*, 184, 9.

Ištar, temples of, cf. Ê-ANNA, Ê-MAḪ, E-MAŠ-MAŠ, Ê-ULMAŠ. Aššurnaṣirpal built a temple of Ištar, King, *Annals*, I, 156, No. 4; perhaps this refers to the building of Ê-MAŠ-MAŠ. Sennacherib in giving the location of the old palace in Nineveh refers to the temple of Ištar, Evetts, *ZA*, III, 311 f., 71–78.

^{d}Ka-di, temple of, *OBI*, 125, 6.

Ê-KALA(?), II R., 61, 24*c.*

Ê-KAL-DU-A, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 11.

Ê-KA-LUM-MA, temple of dates, II R., 61, 8*g;* cf. ENGURRA-KALUMMA.

Ê-KANKAL, part of Ê-ANNA, *CT*, XXI, 17, 91151, 11; II R., 61, 22*c.*

Ê . . . . KAR . . . . KAR, temple in Ur(?), *PSBA*, XXII, 365.

Ê-KAR-RA, in proper name, *OBI*, 83, 10.

Ê-KAR-ZA-GIN-NA, temple of the wall of lapis-lazuli, V R., 61, IV, 25; cf. *ZA*, IV, 329.

Ê-KAR-ZID-DA, temple of the enduring wall, built by Dungi for Bêlit of Ur, *OBI*, No. 16.

Ê-KA + ŠU-NE-GIŠ-TUG, temple of the hearing of supplication, temple of the god Azag-sud,[35] *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 12; cf. Ê-ARAZU-GIŠTUG.

Ê-KÉŠ^{ki}, temple of Kiš, temple of the temen of heaven and earth, temple in which Rîm-sin was exalted to kingship, *T-DSA*, 237*e*.

KI-ARATTA^{ki}, dwelling of (some deity), *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 3; cf. Ê-ARATTA^{ki}.

Ê-KI-AZAG-NUN-NA, temple in Susa, Scheil, *ES*, I, 69, 72, 73; cf. *T-DSA*, 182, 4*ab*, 5.

Ê-^{d}kid-mu-ri, temple of Ištar of Nineveh, who is frequently referred to as the queen of Kidmuri; rebuilt at Calah by Aššurnaṣirpal, King, *Annals*, I, 162 f.; the same king built an altar for Bêl who dwells in Ê-kid-mu-ri, *ibid.*, 160. Aššurbanipal frequently refers to Ištar, queen of Kidmuri in the Annals, *Rassam Cyl.*, I, 15, 42, etc.; cf. *ZA*, III, 311 f., l. 71. Priest of Ê-kid-muri, *HL*, 152, 4; 710, 3; Ištar of Ê-ki-di-mu-ri, *ibid.*, 186, 5.

Ê-KI-GUŠUR-RA, *BA*, V, 573; *Šurpu*, II, 146.

Ê-KI-EL-BI-KAR-ZA-GIN-NA, II R., 61, 35*gh*; cf. Ê-KAR-ZA-GIN-NA.

KI-ÉŠ^{ki}, temple of Nin-dar, desecrated in the time of Urukagina by the troops of Gišḫu, *RA*, VI, 29, obv. V, 3.

KI-ER-ḪI-GUB, *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 10.

Ê-KI-KU-AKKIL-LI, temple of the abode of mourning, temple of the god DUN-ŠAG-GA, son of Ningirsu, built by Gudea in Lagaš, *Déc.*, pl. 29, No. 1. Cf. KI-KU-AKKIL-LI built by Urukagina for the same deity, *Cat. Clercq*, II, VIII, No. 1, col. ii, 7–9; *Cone* (*Déc. ép.*, L), II, 3–5.

Ê-KI-KU-GAR-ZA, temple of the abode of the oracle, temple of NIN-ÊANNA, built by Nebuchadrezzar by the side of the wall of Babylon, *EIH*, IV, 44–48; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 49–51; V R., 34, II, 9–11; *Wâdi Brîsa*, IX, 28 f.; VI, 5 f.

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[35] Cf. Zimmern, *BBR*, index.

Ê-KIN, house of the oracle, II R., 61, 1*c*.

KI-NI-DIN-ZAG, *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 9.

KI-NU-NIR^{ki}; cf. Dumuzi-abzu. Cf. *T-DSA*, p. 257.

Ê-KISAL-^{d}SIRARA^{ki}-ŠUM-TA, temple of the court (?) of the god Sirara-šum-ta, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, IV, 5.

Ê-KIŠIB-BA, temple of the scepter (?), Reisner, *Hym.*, 83, 11.

KI-UNU, ... *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 28.

Ê-KU-A, the temple of the abode, the shrine of Marduk, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, II, 43; III, 28; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 29; *Neb. Ball*, I, 33; V R., 34, I, 48; *Wâdi Brîsa*, III, 38; cf. *PSBA*, XXIII, 188 f., pl. I, 13, perhaps also *ibid.*, XXII, 362, II, 5. Esarhaddon (*BA*, III, 287 f., l. 39) speaks of Tašmêtum who dwells in the shrine of Marduk in Babylon. Cf. Craig, *RT*, 1, 5; *BA*, V, 375.

Ê-KU-GAR, *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 27.

Ê-KU-NIN-AZAG, the abode of the brilliant goddess, a temple in Girsu, II R., 61, 34*gh*.

Ê-KUR, mountain temple, temple of Enlil at Nippur.[36] Šar-gani-šar-ali built this temple for Enlil in Nippur, *OBI*, Nos. 1, 2, 3; Narâm-sin calls himself the builder of the temple of Enlil, *ibid.*, No. 4. Gudea compares Ê-NINNU to Ê-KUR the temple of Enlil, *Cyl. A*, XXIX, 13 f. Ur-engur rebuilt this temple, *CT*, XXI, 4, 90802; *OBI*, No. 122. References to this temple in Bur-sin, *CT*, XXI, 27, 90065; *ibid.*, 24, 90034; *ibid.*, 25, 90811; *RT*, XX, 67, 68; *OBI*, 20. Arad-sin who cares for Ê-KUR, IV R., 35, No. 6. Ḫammurabi restored Ê-KUR, *CḪ*, I, 62; XLII, 84; XLIII, 84; XLIV, 54. With the supremacy of Babylon, Nippur and its temple fell into the background, but that it remained a wealthy and famous temple throughout Babylonian history is seen from the legal and business documents found at Nippur.

Ê-KUR-MAḪ, temple of the great mountain, the ziggurrat of Ê-ḪAR-SAG-KALAM-MA, II R., 50, 13*ab*.

Ê-KUR-ME-EL, temple of the mountain of fire (?),[37] II R., 61, 6*g*.

Ê-KUŠ-GAL, ziggurrat of Dumuzi, Tammuz, in Agade, II R., 50, 10*ab*.

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[36] Cf. *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, by Hilprecht, Clay, Ranke, etc., as well as Hilprecht, *Ausgrabungen der Universität von Pennsylvania im Bêl-tempel zu Nippur.*

[37] Br. 9694.

Ê-LAL . . . . , perhaps, house of honey of . . . . , a temple in Girsu, II R., 61, 18*a*.

Ê-LAGAR-BI-DAGAL, II R., 61, 41*c*.

Ê-^{d}LUGAL-DIBBARA (RA)?, house of the pest god, *ZA*, I, 422.

LUGAL-MARADA (DA), temple of, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar upon the platform-foundation laid by Narâm-sin, *BA*, III, 544 (*RM*, 673); cf. Ê-GAN-GAL-DU-DU and Ê-IGI-KALAMA.

Ê-LUGAL-MEGA(?)-SI-DI, temple of the king of righteous counsel, the ziggurrat of Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL in Ur, rebuilt by Nabonidus, I R., 68, col. i, 5, 6; cf. Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL.

Ê-^{d}LUGAL-URU, temple of L, temple in Lagaš, desecrated by the troops of Gišḫu in the time of Urukagina, *RA*, VI, 29, rev. i, 2, 5.

Ê-MAḪ, supreme house. Eannatum built an Ê-MAḪ, *Vulture Stele*, 12, 9. Perhaps a part of Ê-NINNÛ, Gudea, *Cyl. B*, V, 51; cf. *Statue L* (*T-DSA*, 88), and *Cyl. A*, XXVII, 13.

Ê-MAḪ, temple in Adab (UD-NUN-^{ki}), cared for by Ḫammurabi, *CḪ*, III, 69.

Ê-MAḪ of the god Nannar, built in the fifth year of Sumu-abu, King, *LIḪ*, III, 212.

Ê-MAḪ, temple in Babylon. This temple was rebuilt by Aššurbanipal, Weissbach, *Misc.*, pl. 7, 13 f.; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 13, 14. Nebuchadrezzar rebuilt Ê-MAḪ, the temple of the goddess Ninharzag, for the goddess Maḫ, *EIH*, IV, 14 f.; in *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 43. Ê-MAḪ, the temple of the goddess Nin-maḫ; V R., 34, II, 6; *Neb. Lond. Par.*,[38] col. i, 6, 'Ê-maḫ, temple of the goddess Nin-maḫ in Babylon, for the goddess Nin-maḫ, the exalted princess, rubâtim ṣirti, anew I built.' Cf. *PSBA*, XXII, 365, A, 15; 359, 13, Ê-MAḪ libba(ba) Babili^{ki}.

^{d}MA-ḪIR, temple of the god Ma-ḫir,[39] in the city of Im-gur-^{d}Bêl,[40] built by Aššurnaṣirpal, King, *Annals*, I, pp. 167 f.

Ê-MAḪ-TI(L)-LA, the great temple of life, shrine of Nabû in ÊZIDA, built by Nebuchadrezzar, V R., 34, II, 3 f; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 40 f.;[41] *Wâdi Brîsa*, VI, 21; III, *b* 4; cf. *PSBA*, XXII, 367,

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[38] *ZA*, I, 39–41; Ball, *PSBA*, XI, 248 f.

[39] Cf. Br. 6807.

[40] Cf. the name of one of the walls of Babylon in the time of Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, col. iv, 66 f. Im-gur-^{d}En-lil.

[41] In both these references we find the expression, "mighty cedars I covered with gold, and for the roofing of Ê-MAH-TI(L)-LA the shrine of Nabû panim še-lal-ti-šu-nu I

24; cf. Pinches' note, p. 369; Reisner, *Hym.*, pp. 10, 148; 63, 14; 73, rev. 12; 140, 170; IV R., 11, 11*a*, 12*b;* IV R^2., 29, 28–30. In the Hymn to Marduk, King, *Magic*, 9, 5, Marduk is referred to as ašarid Ê-MAḪTILA; *BA*, V, 336, 347.

Ê-^{d}Malik, temple of M, II R., 61. 55*e*.

Marduk, temples of the god; cf. Ê-SAGILA. From King, *Annals*, I, p. 388, we learn that there was a Marduk temple in the city of Aššur in the time of Aššur-uballiṭ, *ca.* 1400 B. C.

Ê-MAŠ-MAŠ,[42] temple of Ištar in Nineveh, Aššurnaṣirpal rebuilt the temple Ê-MAŠ-MAŠ which Šamši-Adad had built, King, *Annals*, I, 158 f. This Šamši-Adad may be the king whose fragmentary inscription concerning the restoration of an Ištar temple is found in III R., 3, No. 11. This temple was probably rebuilt by Esarhaddon, *BA*, III, 315, rev. 5. Aššurbanipal repaired Ê-MAŠ-MAŠ, II R., 66; cf. *Rassam Cyl.*, X, 25; *CT*, X, 23577; cf. Haupt, *Babylonische Nimrod Epos*, p. 89; *KB*, VI$^{\text{I}}$, 268. Craig, *RT*, 5, 12, 15; 7, 4, 10.

Ê-ME . . . . , *PSBA*, XXII, 370; Craig, *RT*, 36, 4. This should probably be restored Ê-ME-LAM-AN-NA.

Ê-ME-GALAM-MA, temple of Innina, lady of Agade, rebuilt by Kurigalzu, *CT*, IX, 22457. Cf. Ê-UL-MAŠ for a fuller discussion.

Ê-ME-ḪUŠ-GAL-AN-KI, temple of the mighty thunders[43] of heaven and earth, the temple of the god Gal-alim in Lagaš, built by Urukagina, *Cat. Clercq*, II, pl. viii, No. 1, iii 3; *Déc. ép.*, L. col. v, 10–12; *ibid.*, *Cone*, II, 1–2; *T-DSA*, 142 *x*, rebuilt by Gudea.

Ê-ME-LAM . . . . , temple of the splendor, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 11.

Ê-ME-LAM-AN-NA, temple of the splendor of heaven, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 3.

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laid in rows. The expression panim šelaltišunu is usually left untranslated. Does it not mean "three of their sides showing"? In *Neb. EIH*, III, 21 f., we have a passage somewhat similar. "My best cedars which I had brought from Lebanon, the brilliant forest, I selected, my heart prompting, for the roofing of Ê-KU-A, the shrine of his lordship, for the roofing of Ê-KU-A I covered the mighty cedars with gold, the lower edge, side, I decorated with gold and precious stones." It seems very probable from these passages, that these cedar beams were arranged just as beams are arranged in the ceilings of some public buildings today. First a beam, then a space followed by another beam, etc. Such an arrangement would account for all the expressions used in these passages.

[42] This and the Ê-miš-miš seem to be the same. If this is the case we see how precarious our etymologies of the names of temples must necessarily be.

[43] ME-ḪUŠ is perhaps equal to ḳûlu ezzu, which might be regarded as a poetical word for thunder.

Ê-ME-LAM-BI-KUR-KUR-RA A-TUG, temple whose splendor covers the lands, epithet of ANTASURRA, and Ê-GIŠ-PU-RA. Cf. the name of the wall of Kiš, II R., 50, 34*ab*.

Ê-ME-LAM-ḪUŠ, temple of the terrible splendor, temple of the god Gibil, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 6.

Ê-ME-LAM-MAḪ, temple of great splendor, the ziggurrat of Enlil at Nippur?, II R., 50, 14*ab*.

Ê-ME-LAM-SU(KUŠ)-ŠI-GUR-RU, temple filled with glorious splendor, *PSBA*, XXII, 364, 3.

Ê-ME-NIGIN-ŠU-UL, temple where the gathering is made complete(?), temple of the goddess Nin-nammu, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 7.

Ê-MES-LAL-MAḪ, temple of Nannar, rebuilt by Kurigalzu, I R., 4, XIV.

Ê-MES-LAM, temple of MESLAM,[44] temple of the god MES-LAM-TA-È-A, that is, the god who comes forth from MES-LAM, later known as Nergal. Gudea built his temple in Girsu, *T-DSA*, 140*q;* Dungi built a temple, Ê-MES-LAM, in Kutha, *CT*, IX, 35389; Lenormant, *Choix*, No. 61. Cf. *CT*, V, 12217. Ḫammurabi enlarged MES-LAM of Kutha, *CḪ*, III, 6, IV, 6. Nebuchadrezzar rebuilt this temple, *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 52 f.; *Grot.*, II, 37; *Wâdi Brîsa*, VII, 41 f.; cf. Jensen, *KB*, VI$^{\mathrm{I}}$, 290.

Ê-MES-LAM-IM-GUR-RU, temple of MESLAM filled with storm, temple of Nergal, *PSBA*, XXII, 364, 1.

Ê-ME-TE-UR-SAG, temple of the ornaments of the warrior, temple of Zamama and Innina in Kiš. Restored by Ḫammurabi, King, *LIḪ*, III, 241; *CḪ*, II, 62; *PSBA*, XXII, 370; *BA*, V, 418; *ibid.*, 574; Reisner, *Hym.*, 36, 16; 84, 36.

Ê-ME-UR-UR, temple where oracles are received, temple of Innina, built by Kudurmabug and Rîm-Sin, Lenormant, *Choix*, No. 70; cf. *T-DSA*, 218.

Ê-MIŠ-MIŠ, temple of Ištar-Innina in Nineveh, Ḫammurabi, *CḪ*, IV, 60 f.; cf. Ê-MAŠ-MAŠ.

Ê-MU . . . . , II R., 61, 43*e*.

^{d}Nabû, temple of, see Ê-ZIDA; cf. II R., 61, 47*ef*.

Ê^{d}-Nabû ša ḫa-ri . . . . , Ê^{d}-Nabû ša nikasu, *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 10. *HL*, 65, 367; cf. Ê-GIŠ-GAR-PA-KALAMA-SUMMA.

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[44] For the name cf. Jensen, *Kos.*, under Ê-ŠIT-LAM.

Ê-NAD-DA, house of reclining, a shrine in the temple of Ningirsu, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, XXV, 17.

Ê-NAM-EN-GAR-RA, temple of the establishing of lordship, temple of Nin-nammu, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, I, 8; cf. Ê-ME-NIGIN-ŠU-UL.

Ê-NAM-ḪA-NI, Reisner, *TU*, 5, VII, 1; 110, III, 34; 119; *CT*, V, 12912, V, 16, 19761, I, 12; VII, 12930, IV, 10; IX, 14318, I, 17, 21243; X, 12922, V.

Ê-NAM-ḪE, temple of abundance, temple of Adad in Babylon, built by Ḫammurabi in his twenty-eighth year, King, *LIḪ*, III, 236; *BA*, V, p. 419. No. 8; rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 35–37; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 47; V R., 34, II, 8; *Wâdi Brîsa*, IX, 19 f.; Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, rev. 16; Craig, *RT*, 58, 23.

Ê-NAM-TAG-GA-GAB-A, temple of the god Amurru(?), rebuilt by Esarhaddon, *BA*, III, 287, rev. 40.

Ê-NAM-TI-LA, temple of life; in King, *LIḪ*, III, 193, there is given a copy of an inscription which had been written upon a tablet in the temple Ê-NAMTILA by Ḫammurabi. Craig, *RT*, 58, 23; Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, rev. 5.

^{d}Nanâ, temple of, built by Kudurmabug and Rîm-sin, *MDOG*, No. 5, p. 17; cf. *T-DSA*, 220.

^{d}Nannar, temple of; cf. Ê-NUN-MAḪ, Ê-TEMEN-NI-IL; Ur-engur built the temple of Nannar in Ur, *CT*, XXI, 4, 90801; *ibid.*, 2, 90009, 90011, 90004; *ibid.*, 8, 30051; Peters, *Nippur*, II, 238; Sumu-abu built a temple to Nannar in his fifth year, King, *LIḪ*, III, 212; cf. Ê-MAḪ.

Ê-^{d}NANNARU, ziggurrat of Kutha, II R., 50, 15*ab;* cf. II R., 61, 6*c*.

^{d}NA-RU-TE, temple of, built by Addaḫušu, Scheil, *ES*, III, 26.

^{d}Nergal, temple of; cf. Ê-MESLAM; a temple for the god Nergal was built by Anamgišdubba for the life of Sin-gâmil, *CT*, XXI, 17, 91082. Temple of Nergal in Tarbiṣi restored by Aššurbanipal, I R., 8, No. 2. Temple of Nergal of Paše, II R., 61, 14*b;* cf. *ibid.*, 53*e;* *BA*, V, 431, from this date we learn that Samsuiluna restored a Nergal temple in Sippar.

Ê-NIGIN . . . . temple of the dwelling of . . . . *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 20.

Ê-NIGIN-GAR-RA, temple of the firmly established dwelling (?), II R., 61, 4*g*.

Ê-NIG-KI-SIG, part of Ê-NINNÛ, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, XXIX, 3.

Ê-dNINÂ, temple of the goddess Ninâ; cf. Ê-ŠEŠ-ŠEŠ-E-GA-RA. Temple of Ninâ in Lagaš built by Ur-ninâ, *T-DSA*, 2*b*, 4*de; Déc.*, pl. 2, No. 1, and *ép.* XXXVI; *ibid.*, 2ter, No. 4, 2bis, No. 1; Reisner, *TU*, 5, II, 32; 15, I, 10, etc.; *CT*, III, 18343; IX, 21245; X, 12922.

dNin-á-gal, temple of, built by Ur-bau, *Déc.*, pl. 7, 8, *Statue*, V, 4–7; cf. *Déc.*, pl. 8bis, No. 2.

dNin-azag-nun, temple of the goddess Nin-azag-nun, that is Innina, built by Ur-bau, *Déc.*, pl. 8bis, No. 2, III, 1–3.

dNin-dar, temple of, built by Ur-bau, *Déc.*, pl. 7–8, V, 2, 3; rebuilt by Gudea, *T-DSA*, 227*b;* Reisner, *TU*, 5, I, 18; 17 rev., IX, 28, etc.; *CT*, V, 12912; VI, 18394, rev. 12; IX, 14318, III, 11, 21245 rev. 9.

Ê-dNIN-DINGIR-RA, a temple of Sin in Ur, built by Nabonidus, I R., 68, No. 7.

dNin-Ê-AN-NA, temple of Nin-ÊANNA, that is Innina, *PSBA*, XXII, 359; cf. Ê-KI-KU-GARZA, Ê-ANNA.

dNin-e-gal, temple of, built by the wife of Rîm-sin, *T-DSA*, 218*d*.

dNin-gal, shrine of Nin-gal the wife of Sin, built by Sargon, *Cyl.* 62 (Lyon).

dNin-gir-su, temple of, cf. Ê-NINNÛ; Mesilim, king of Kiš, is called the builder of this temple (?), *Déc. ép.*, XXXV. Ur-ninâ built a temple to Ningirsu in Lagaš, *Déc.*, pl. 2, No. 1, Eannatum, Enannatum I, Entemena, etc., kept up the worship of Ningirsu. Cf. Reisner, *TU*, 5, I, 23; 9 obv. 4; 15 rev. 8, etc.; *CT*, V, 19761, I; VI, 11765, 18419; IX, 14318, 14617, 20011, 21245, 21386; X, 19064, 12922.

dNin-giš-zi-da, temple of, built by Gudea in Girsu, *Statue I*, *RA*, VI, 23 f.; *Déc.*, pl. 37, No. 5; Reisner, *TU*, 6, VII, 15; 9 obv, 1; 10, 5; 33, 23, etc.; *CT*, V, 12912; IX, 14318, 20011, 21386; X, 12922; XV, 12912; cf. *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 8.

dNin-ḫar-sag, temple of, built by Ur-bau in Girsu, *Déc.* 7, 8, III, 8–IV, 2; Gudea, *Statue A*, I. Galu-babbar of Gišḫu built a temple for this goddess, *CT*, I, 96–6–12, 3; Ur-engur, *OBI*, 14.

ᵈNinib, temple of, mentioned in dates from the time of Dungi, *T-DSA*, 229; *PSBA*, XXII, 368; II R., 61, 50*e*, temple of Ninib of Nippur; *KB*, IV, 154 XXII; temple of Ninib at Calah built by Aššurnaṣirpal, King, *Annals*, I, 209 f.; shrine of Ninib built by Sargon, *Cyl.* 62.

ᵈNin-lil, temple of, in Nippur; cf. Ê-ŠU-IB built by Ur-engur, *CT*, XXI, 6, 90826.

ᵈNin-maḫ, temple of, built by Entemena in Lagaš, *CT*, X, 86900, 27, 28.

ᵈNin-mar^{ki}, temple of, built in Lagaš by Ur-Ninâ, *T-DSA*, 4*c*; *Déc.*, pl. 2ter, No. 4; cf. Ê-SAL-GIL-SA built by Dungi; Reisner, *TU*, 5, III, 18; 101, I, 10; 110, II, 11, etc.; *CT*, III, 14608; V, 12912; X, 12922.

ᵈNinni, temple of the goddess Innina; her temple in Erech was built by Ur-engur, *CT*, XXI, 3, 90006–15; Bur-sin, *CT*, III, 12156; mentioned in a date of Narâm-sin, *RTC*, 86, 106, 144; *CT*, VII, 18430, rev. 8; X, 12922, III; cf. Ê-ANNA, Ê-ME-UR-UR.

Ê-NINNÛ, temple of fifty, temple of Ningirsu, *q. v.*, Enannatum dedicated a mortar in Ê-NINNÛ, *Déc. ép.*, XLV, a mace, *CT*, V, 23287; Entemena, *Déc.*, pl. 43–43bis; *ibid.*, pl. 5bis; *Déc. ép.*, XLVIII; *Déc.*, pl. 31, No. 3; Urukagina, *Déc. ép.*, L, 2; *Cat. Clercq*, II, VIII, No. 1; Ur-bau rebuilt Ê-NINNÛ called IM-GIG shines, *Déc.*, pl. 7, 8, III, 5–7; *ibid.*, pl. 38; Gudea, *Statues A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *G*, *I*, *K*, and *Cyls. A*, *B*, as well as on many bricks; Dungi, *Déc.*, pl. 29, No. 3. Ḫammurabi provided for Ê-NINNÛ, *CH*, III, 46. The references in the business documents in Reisner, *TU*, *CT*, etc., are numerous.

ᵈNin-sar, perhaps a temple to this god, was built by Urukagina, *Déc. ép.*, L, col. 2, end.

ᵈNin-šaḫ, temple of, built by Rîm-sin, *Déc.*, pl. 41; I R., 3, No. X.

ᵈNin-si-in-na, temple of, built in the fourth year of Sumuabu, King, *LIH*, III, 212.

ᵈNin-sun, temple of, mentioned in a date, *RTC*, No. 265.

Ê-NIR-GAL-AN-NA, temple of the lord of heaven, temple of Ištar of Erech, within Ê-ANNA, *BA*, III, 351, 6.

Ê-NI-TE, temple of terror, Craig, *RT*, 58, 20.

Ê-NI-TE-ḪAR-SAG, temple of terror of the mountain, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 25.

Ê-NUN-MAḪ, temple of the great prince, temple of the god Sin, built by Nur-immer, *CT*, XXI, 29, 30070; Arad-Sin, *CT*, XXI, 33, 90032. Nabonidus restored Ê-NUN-MAḪ in Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL, I R., 68, No. 6.

Ê-NU-UR-MA, house of figs(?), II R., 61, 31*g*.

^{d}NU-TỤ́G-MUŠ-DA, temple of, in Kazallu, in a date of Dungi, *OBI*, 125, 8.

Ê-PA, built by Ur-ninâ in Lagaš, *Déc.*, pl. 2^{ter}, No. 2. Ê-PA, called Ê-UB-IMIN, the temple of the seven (heavenly) zones was built for Ningirsu by Gudea, *Statue D* (*Déc.*, pl. 9), II, 11 f.; cf. *Statues E* and *G*. From the last inscription it would seem as though we had in Ê-PA a ziggurrat; cf. Ê-UR-IMIN-AN-KI; *Statue I*, II, 12 f.; *Cat. Clercq*, II, VIII, No. 2.

Ê-PAD-DA, Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, rev. 17.

Ê-PAD-DA-NU-NUNUZU, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 5.

Ê-^{d}PA-GIŠ-GIBIL-SAG, temple of, Reisner, *TU*, 26, XIV, 20.

Ê-PA-PAḪ-^{d}Tašmetum, temple of the shrine of Tašmêtum, *HL*, 119, obv. 14.

Ê-^{d}PAP-SUKAL, temple of P, *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 5.

Ê-PA-ṬU-TI-LA, temple of the scepter of life, the temple of Ninib in Šuanna, the sacred precinct of Babylon, built by Nabopolassar; cf. Weissbach, *Miscellen*, pl. 8. Cf. Ê-GIŠ-GAR-PA-KALAM-MA.

Ê-RAB-AG-AG, temple of the god En-nu-gi, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 10.

Ê-RAB-RI-RI, temple of the god En-nu-gi, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 9.

^{d}Ramman, temple of, built in the seventh year of Sumula-ilu, King, *LIḪ*, III, 215; cf. Adad temple.

Ê-RUG?-GA?-NA?-KI, a shrine of Nabû; cf. Weissbach, *Wâdi Brîsa*, p. 40.

Ê-SA-BAD, temple of the bond of death(?), temple of Gula in Babylon, built by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 40 f., *Wâdi Brîsa*, IX, 33 f., VI, 9 f.; cf. the proper name Ina-ṣilli-Ê-SA-BAD, Strassmaier, *Nbn.*, 257, 3. See Gula temples.

Ê-SAG-AŠ, ziggurrat of Nippur, II R., 50, 6*ab*: cf. Ê-IM-ḪAR-SAG.

Ê-SAG-DUL, temple of the covered head, II R., 61, 15*c*.

Ê-SAG-GA-AN . . . . *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 18.

Ê-SAG-ILA, temple of the high-towering summit, temple of Marduk at Babylon. This temple becomes prominent with the rise of the First Dynasty of Babylon. It is not mentioned in the older inscriptions from the South. But we know from Chronicle K I, King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, that Dungi the son of Ur-engur invaded Babylon and despoiled Ê-SAGILA. The temple was rebuilt in the tenth year of Zabum, King, *LIḪ*, III, 220; Marduk is mentioned as the lord of Ê-SAGILA and E-ZIDA in Ḫammurabi's inscription concerning the rebuilding of Ê-ZIDA, *Rec. de travaux*, II, 76 f.; King, *LIḪ*, III, 186; *CḪ*, II, 12; XL, 67, 93; XLI, 50, 51; cf. Legend, *CT*, XIII, 46. Agum-kakrimi returned Marduk to Babylon and Ê-SAGILA and restored the temple, V R., 33, I, 44 f. Marduk-aplu-iddina calls himself the worshiper of Nabû and Marduk, the gods of Ê-SAGILA and Ê-ZIDA, *BA*, II, 258 f., col. ii, 1; v, 9. Marduk-nâdin-šum, contemporary of Šalmaneser II, presented a seal of bright lapis-lazuli to Marduk of Ê-SAGILA, Weissbach, *Misc.*, pl. 6, No. 2. Sennacherib tells us that Šuzubi robbed the temple Ê-SAGILA to gain aid from Elam, *Taylor Cyl.*, V, 5 f. Sennacherib himself took Babylon 689 and the gods were taken to Assyria. Esarhaddon restored the temple, I R., 48, No. 9; I R., 49, I, 14 f.; III, 22 f.; IV; Layard, 19, No. 1; *BA*, III, 347 f., I, 3 f., II, 18; *ibid.*, 287 f., obv. 36, rev. 6, 47; *ibid.*, 323, V, 15, VI, 6, 12, VIII, 8; *ibid.*, 351 f., 16 f. Aššurbanipal completed the work begun by Esarhaddon, III R., 16, No. 5; Weissbach, *Misc.*, pl. 7; *CT*, IX, 6, 7. Šamaš-šum-ukîn took an active interest in this temple; cf. Lehmann, pl. I, II, 17; V–VII, 7, 8, 22; VIII–X, 14, 16, 17; XVII–XXII, 13, 24, 46, 56, 66; XXV–XXVII, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13; XXXIV–XXXIX, II, 30, 33. Nabopolassar, *ZA*, IV, 106 f.; *OBI*, 84. Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, I, 13, 19, etc.; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 14 f.; *Neb. Ball*, I, 8 f.; V R., 34; *Grot.*, I, 6 f.; I R., 52, No. 3; *ZA*, I, 337 f.; *ZA*, II, 125 f.; I R., 52, Nos. 4, 6, 7; I R., 51, No. 1; *ZA*, II, 169 f.;

ibid., 129 f.; *PSBA*, XI, 124–30; *ZA*, II, 137 f.; I R., 51, No. 2; I R., 52, No. 5; I R., 8, No. 4; *ZA*, XIX, 114 f.; *Wâdi Brîsa*, I, 20, I*a*, 19, III, 35, I*b*, 5; II*a*, 1, etc. Neriglissar, I R., 67. Nabonidus, I R., 69; I R., 68, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 7; V R., 68; Chronicle (*TSBA*, VII, 139–76; *BA*, II, 248), col. ii. Cyrus, V R., 35, 5; *TSBA*, II, 148; *BA*, II, 214. Antiochus, V R., 66. Arsaces, *ZA*, III, 146, No. 7.

References to Ê-SAGILA in the religious texts may be found by consulting the indices of works on religion.

Ê-SAG-KAL-KUR-KUR-RA, high-towering temple of the lands, an epithet of Ê-NINNÛ, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, XI, 1 f.

Ê-SAL-GIL-SA, temple of Nin-mar^{ki}, I R., 2, No. II, 4.

Ê-^{d}Sibi, temple of the god Sibi, *HL*, 49, 7; 578 rev. 4; cf. II R., 61, 11*b*.

Ê-SIGIŠE-SIGIŠE, temple of libations, temple of the Igigi and Anunaki, built by Nebuchadrezzar by the wall of Babylon, *EIH*, IV, 7 f.

Ê-SIḲḲA, perhaps temple of the apsû, II R., 61, 20*a*; cf. Br. 10902.

Ê-SIL-SIR-SIR, temple of Bau, built by Gudea, *Statue E*, II, 18–20; VI, 13 f.; *Statue H*, III, 1 f.; cf. *Cyl. A*, XXVI, 9.

^{d}SIN, temples of Sin; cf. Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL, Nannar. II R., 61–48 f.; *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 3. Aššurnaṣirpal built a temple to Sin, *Annals*, II, 135.

Ê-SIPPARA (ZIMBIR), Reisner, *Hym.*, No. 41, rev. 6.

Ê-SIRARA^{ki}, temple of Ninâ, mentioned by Entemena, *Déc. ép.*, XLVIII, III, 7; rebuilt by Gudea, *Statue I*, II, 14–III, 3; *Déc.*, pl. 37, No. 3. From this reference we learn that the temple was in the precinct of Lagaš known as Ninâ; cf. *T-DSA*, 144*g*; Ê-KISAL-^{d}SIRARA^{ki}-ŠUM-TA.

Ê-SU(D)-SU(D)-GAR-RA, II R., 61, 13*g*; cf. Br. 7615 f.

Ê-SU-ŠI-AN-NA, temple of heavenly splendor, II R., 61, 16*g*.

Ê-SU-ŠI-^{d}EN-LIL-LI, temple of the splendor of Enlil, II R., 61, 73*e*.

Ê-SU-ŠI-GUR-RU-E-NE, II R., 61, 75–76*e*.

Ê-SU-ŠI-ḪUŠ-RI-A, temple clothed with terrible splendor, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 4.

Ê-ŠA(B)-BA, Reisner, *Hym.*, 85, 16.

Ê-ŠA(G)-GI-LID-RU-MIL, II R., 61, 5*c*.

Ê-ŠA(G)-GUG(UMUN)-GUD, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 26.

^{d}Šamaš, temples of; cf. Ê-BABBARA. Pudi-ilu built a temple to Šamaš, King, *Annals*, I, 3; Sargon built a shrine to this god and others, *Cyl.* 62; cf. II R., 61, 49 f.; *BA*, V, p. 433, 29 f.; *HL*, 49, 25.

Ê-ŠAR-BI, II R., 61, 21*g*.

Ê-ŠAR-GUB-AN-NA, temple of heaven of splendor, temple of Nanâ in Erech, Aššurbanipal, *Rassam*, VI, 122–24.

Ê-ŠAR-RA,[45] Aššurnaṣirpal brought cedars from Mt. Amanus for this temple, King, *Annals*, I, 374. Esarhaddon calls himself the favorite of Ê-ŠAR-RA, *BA*, III, 287 f., 35; *HL*, 120, 4; 793, 6; Reisner, *Hym.*, 85, 10; Macmillan, *BA*, V, No. xvi. Craig, *RT;* cf. Martin, *Textes religieux*, I, index; I R., 70, IV, 1.

Ê-ŠE-RI-GA, the ziggurrat of Dûr-šar-ukîn, Br., 7448; Esarhaddon restored the cult at this temple, *BA*, III, 315 f., rev. 41. In proper name, *HL*, 212, 15.

Ê-ŠEŠ-ŠEŠ-E-GA-RA, temple of Ninâ built by Dungi, *Déc.*, pl., 29, No. 4.

Ê-ŠIR-GAL-AN-NA, temple in Lagaš, II R., 61, 37*gh*.

Ê-ŠITI-DU, *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 17; cf. Br. 5988.

Ê-ŠU-BU-LAL, II R., 61, 12*b*.

Ê-ŠU-^{d}EN-LIL-LI, temple of the power of Enlil, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 3.

Ê-ŠU-GA-DU-DU, the ziggurrat of Ur, II R., 50, 18*ab*.

^{d}ŠU-GU, temple of, Scheil, *ES*, I, 59 f.; cf. *T-DSA*, 176*a*.

Ê-ŠU-IB, temple of Nin-lil at Nippur, built by Ur-engur, *CT*, XXI, 6, 90826.

Ê-ŠU-LAḪ-ḪA-TUM-MA, temple of Nin-šar, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 13.

Ê-ŠU-ME-DU, Reisner, *Hym.*, No. 47, *et passim;* Craig, *RT*, 57; *BA*, V, 574.

Ê-ŠU-NE, II R., 61, 1*h*.

Ê-ŠU-SIG-GA, part of the temple of Nin-šaḫ(?), built by Rîm-sin, *Déc.*, pl., 41, 35; part of the temple of Nin-e-gal(?), *KB*, III^{1}, 96, No. 5. Winckler suggests nudunnû, Br. 4418, in interpreting the names. Is it possible that the ÊLTÊK sign, Br., 4442, is meant? Cf. Br. 7155, 7156.

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[45] Cf. Jensen, *Kos.*, and *KB*, VI^{1}, 344.

^{d}Šušinak, temple of, cf. KI-AZAG-NUN-NA.

Ê-TEMEN-AN-KI, temple of the foundation of heaven and earth, the ziggurrat of Ê-SAGILA. Nabopolassar, *OBI*, No. 84; Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, III, 15 f.; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 34, 35; *PSBA*, XI, 160, I, 38; V R., 34, I, 53, 54; *Grot.*, I, 39 f.; *OBI*, No. 85; I R., 51, No. 1, I, 23 f.; *Wâdi Brîsa*, II*a*, 13.

Ê-TEMEN-NI-IL, temple of Nannar in Ur, built by Ur-engur, *CT*, XXI, 7, 90000; *ibid.*, 8, 30051; Arad-sin rebuilt the temple, Lenormant, *Choix*, No. 67.

Ê-TI(L)-LA, temple of life, a temple of Gula in Borsippa, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 54, 55; *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 41 f.; *Wâdi Brîsa*, VI, 32 f.

Ê-TIN-NA, temple of life, II R., 61, 19*c*.

Ê-TUK-ŠIT-KUR-RA, *BA*, V, 537.

Ê-ṬU(N)-GAL, II R., 61, 12*g*.

Ê-TUR-KALAM-MA, temple of the fold of the nations, cf. Ê-AMAŠ-KALAM-MA; II R., 61, 17*g*. In a Ḫammurabi date, King, *LIḪ*, 238. Šamaš-šum-ukîn, (Lehmann) pl. XXIII; Chronicle of Nabonidus, rev., 6 f.; Craig, *RT*, 19, 14, which shows that this was an Ištar temple, as does also the Ḫammurabi reference.

Ê-UB-A-RA-AL-LI, temple of the region of the under world, *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 13.

Ê-UB-IMIN; cf Ê-PA.

Ê-UD-DIM . . . . , *PSBA*, XXII, 370, B 10.

Ê-UD-GAL, *BA*, II, 481, 17.

Ê-UD-GAL-GAL, temple of Adad in Ḳarḳar, Ḫammurabi, *CḪ*, III, 57 f.; Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, 15.

Ê-UD-TA-AŠ, Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, 18.

Ê-UD-UL, abode of Marduk and Sarpanîtum, Craig, *RT*, 109; *BA*, V, 375, 381.

Ê-UL-LA, temple of Nin-karrag (Gula) in Sippar, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *Neb. Winckl.*, III, 13 f.; *PSBA*, XI, 196, II, 48 f.; *ZA*, II, 169 f., I, 33 f.

Ê-UL-MAŠ, temple of Ištar-Innina of Agade, built according to Nabonidus in the time of Sargon and Narâm-sin (I R., 69, II, 29 f.).

Ḫammurabi cared for this temple, *CḪ*, IV, 45 f.[46] Kurigalzu, Esarhaddon, and Nebuchadrezzar, again on the authority of Nabonidus, made unsuccessful attempts to find the ancient platform-foundation. The workmen of Nabonidus labored in the trenches for three years, but reported failure to locate the old foundation. The rains of two millenniums had evidently left no traces of the ancient foundation. Here col. ii breaks off. Fortunately we have a copy[47] of an inscription by Kurigalzu concerning the rebuilding of a temple of Innina, lady of Agade, Ê-ME-GALAM-MA. Was this the ziggurrat or some othar part of Ê-UL-MAŠ? In Weissbach, *Wâdi Brîsa*, col. viii, 5 f., which is unfortunately badly broken, Nebuchadrezzar refers to Ištar-Innina of Agade immediately after a reference to Ištar-Innina of Erech. The reference is not to the building of a temple. *Nahr el-Kelb*, col. iii, 13, is a parallel passage, but it is also broken.

Ê-UL-MAŠ of Anunîtum of Sippar or of Sippar, of Anunîtum. From col. iii (I R., 69), we learn that Nabonidus found the platform-foundation of Ê-UL-MAŠ, together with an inscription of Šagaraktiaš (to be read Šagaraktišur [written bur]iaš), son of Kudur-Bêl. According to this inscription the walls had been in ruins since the time of Zabum. From V R., 64, III, 22 f., we learn that no king had rebuilt this temple since the time of Šagaraktišuriaš, that is, for a period of eight hundred years.

In view of the fact that in col. ii of I R., 69, the goddess of Ê-UL-MAŠ is Ištar-Innina, while in col. iii of the same inscription her name is invariably Anunîtum of Sippar, it seems best to assume that different temples are meant. When one reads over the history of the two temples as sketched above, this conclusion seems to be justified. There is but one reference known to me, where Anunîtum, Agade and Ê-UL-MAŠ are mentioned together, *Šurpu* II, 169, 170. This may reopen the question of the twin-cities, Sippar and Akkad (Agade) of Delitzsch's *Paradies*, 209 f.; cf. Hommel,

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[46] The sign for Ištar in I R., 69, II, 48, is Br. 3050, the NINNI sign, Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*^{4}, No. 76, 62*b*. The latter sign is never made like ri. Both 76 and 62*b* are late forms of *REC*, 294. Dr. Mode, in his dissertation submitted to the faculty of Semitic Languages of The University of Chicago, shows that the sign used in the Code is to be read Aš-dar, that is, Ištar.

[47] The note on the copy of the inscription reads: (The Inscription) which the scribe Nabû-zêr-lišir saw on a brick of the bît-akîti which is in Agade, in the seventh month of the eigth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and copied.

Geo., 341; *KAT*^{3}, 423. In IV R., 36, No. 1, col. ii, 20 f., there is a list of cities of Northern Babylonia, Sippar, Old-Sippar, Maradda, Kisallu, Ul-maš, Agade, etc. Jensen in *ZA*, XV, 219, suggests that Ul-maš was the quarter in Agade in which the temple stood. Proper names: especially interesting is Ulmašîtum, Ranke, *Personal Names*, p. 208.

Ê-U-NAM-TI(L)-LA, perhaps the temple of the plant of life, the temple of Nin-in-si-na, rebuilt after it had long been in ruins, by Arad-sin, *CT*, I, 96–4–4, 2. Cf. E-^{d}Nin-si-in-na.

Ê-UNU(G)^{ki}, temple of Erech, *Déc. ép.*, L, No, 5.

Ê-^{d}URAŠ ša Dilbat, temple of Uraš of Dilbat, II R., 61, 51*e;* cf. Ê-I-DE-^{d}A-NUM.

Ê-UNU-NI-SAG-MAḪ, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 16.

Ê-$^{(ur)}$UR . . . . *PSBA*, XXII, 370, 11.

Ê-UR-IMIN-AN-KI, temple of the seven messengers of heaven and earth, the ziggurrat of Ê-ZIDA, in Borsippa, restored by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, III, 67–69; *Neb. Ball* (*PSBA*, XI, 160), I, 39; I R., 51, No. 1, I, 27 f.

Ê-UR-SAG, *PSBA*, XXII, 370, 3.

Ê-ÚRU^{ki}, *CT*, IX, 20011, obv. 16, and in Reisner, *TU*.

Ê-URU+A, a temple(?), Gudea, *Cyl. A*, XXIII, 30.

Ê-URU-AZAG-GA, the temple of the precinct Uru-azag of Lagaš, temple of Bau, *Déc.*, pl. 8, IV, 3 f.; temple of Gatumdug, *T-DSA*, 140*q;* cf. II R., 61, 16*c*, and perhaps *ibid.*, 14*a*.

Ê-URU-NA-NAM, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 24.

Ê-UŠ-GID-DA, and Ê-UŠ-GID-DA-GID-DA, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 17, 18.

Ê-U-ZU, temple of the seer,[48] *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 12.

Ê-^{d}ZA-MA-MA, temple of Z, in Kiš, II R., 61, 52*fg*.

Ê-ZI-BA-TI(L)-LA, temple of Gula in Borsippa, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 52 f.; *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 44 f.; *Wâdi Brîsa*, X, 5 f.

Ê-ZI(D)-DA, bît kêni, eternal temple, the temple of Nabû in Borsippa. Almost always mentioned together with Ê-SAGILA.[49] Cared for by Ḫammurabi, *CḪ*, III, 15; King, *LIḪ*, III, 196 f.,

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[48] That is, the one who knows plants, cf. a-zu, ni-zu, me-zu, in Zimmern, *BBR*, p. 82.

[49] Only the most important references are therefore given here.

192 f., 254. Šamaš-šum-ukîn (Lehmann) see index; *BA*, II, 258 f., col. ii. Nabopolassar, *OBI*, No. 84, I, 18. Nebuchadrezzar restored Ê-ZIDA, *EIH*, I, 19, III, 36 f.; VII, 5 f.; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 14, 31, 36 f.; *PSBA*, XI, 196 f.; *ibid.*, 160, 161; V R., 34, especially I, 55 f.; *Grot.*, especially II, 18 f.; I R., 52, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; I R., 51, Nos. 1, 2; I R., 8, No. 4; *Wâdi Brîsa*, I, 20. Neriglissar, I R., 67; *PSBA*, X. Nabonidus, V R., 63; *Chronicle*, col. ii, 7, 8, 12. Antiochus, V R., 66. Ê-ZIDA, in Calah, built by Aššuretililâni, I R., 8, No. 3. Ê-ZIDA in Nineveh, *PSBA*, XXIII, 90.

Ê-ZI-KALAM-MA, temple of the soul of life, temple of Innina at Ḫallab, built by Ḫammurabi, King, *LIḪ*, III, 184.

Ê . . . . ZU-GAL-KALAM-MA, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 10.

ASSYRIAN PRESCRIPTIONS FOR DISEASES OF THE HEAD

(*Continued from AJSL, October, 1907*)

By R. Campbell Thompson
The University of Chicago

65. Enuma [*ditto*] . . . -e-bu ḳimi piṣî ḳimi lapti ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid: enuma *ditto* ḳiṭ-ni-e $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$buraši ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid

66. Enuma [*ditto*] . . . UD.DU taẖašal tašaẖal ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid

67. Enuma [*ditto*] . . . [ṣar]-ba-te ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid: enuma *ditto* . . . . PA NAM inib $^{\text{iṣu}}$BAR.ẖUŠ ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid

68. [Enuma *ditto*] . . . piṣâ(a) RAT ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid [: enuma *ditto*] $^{\text{šammu}}$MA.APIN.MA.RA ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid

69. [Enuma *ditto*] $^{\text{šammu}}$ZA . . . . ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid

(*Pl. 32.*) K. 2354

Reverse

COLUMN III

1. Enuma [*ditto*] . . . [ina] išat(?) ṣar-ba-te ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid

2. Enuma [*ditto*] . . . $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri ina mê kasi talâš(as) taṣamid

3. Enuma [*ditto*] . . . tuballal ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid

4. Enuma [*ditto*] . . . ḳimi ẖašli tuballal ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid

5. Enuma [*ditto*] . . . [ina mê kasi] talâš(aš) taṣamid: enuma *ditto* kankallu še-el-li-bi-nu ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid

6. Enuma [*ditto*] . . . [ṣar]-ba-te ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid

7. Enuma [*ditto*] . . . ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid

8. Enuma [amelu] . . . ḳaḳḳadi-šu i-šaẖ-ẖu-uẖ ZI SAK.KI irašši

9. . . . ḳaḳḳad-su tuzarrab(ab) tu-ḳaṣ-ṣa taṣamid-ma ûmu III$^{\text{kam}}$ la tapaṭṭar

(*Pl. 33.*)

10. Enuma *ditto* . . . [X šiḳli] KU $^{\text{iṣu}}$ŠUR.MAN X šiḳli KU $^{\text{iṣu}}$suadi X šiḳli KU buraši X šiḳli $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri

11. X šiḳli KU . . . [X šiḳli] ḳimi TIG.GAL X šiḳli ḳimi TIG.DU X šiḳli VI ḳa suluppi X šiḳli siḫli

12. X šiḳli šikari u-sa damḳa X šiḳli ḳimi ḫušli ešteniš(niš) tuballal ina šikari talâš(aš) GUR.MA piṣâ(a) taḫašal tašaḫal

13. SAK.KA.U.KAL ina lib $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa teliḳḳi(ḳi) ina mê kasi talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma *ditto*

14. [Enuma] *ditto* siḫli ḫar-tim $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri uḫuli ḳarnani ešteniš(niš) RAT ina šikari talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) *ditto*

15. [Enuma *ditto*] $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$buraši $^{\text{riḳḳu ilu}}$NIN.IB zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ašî šinni tâmti $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$murri ešteniš(niš) RAT ina šikari talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) *ditto*

16. [Enuma *ditto*] $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$buraší A.DAN $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ḪAL suluppi lipi kalit immeri esteniš(niš) RAT ina su-sur-ri tuzarrab(ab) *ditto*

17. [Enuma amelu] ḳaḳḳad(?)-su ud da tab ma u zumru-šu ikkal-šu ḳaḳḳad-su la šupšuḫ(uḫ) âr $^{\text{iṣu}}$MIS.MA.KAN.NA . . .

18. [Enuma *ditto*] . . . taḫašal(?) ḳimi TIG.GAL ḳimi TIG.DU ḳimi ennini ešteniš(niš) ina šur-šum-mi šikari talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) *ditto*

19. [Enuma *ditto*] . . . piṣâti(a-ti) $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$burași ḳimi ḫašli ina šur-šum-mi šikari talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) *ditto*

20. Enuma *ditto* . . . [$^{\text{šammu}}$]ḫaltappani $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$burаši ḳimi ḫašli ina šikari talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) [*ditto*]

21. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{šammu}}$ . . . . ina mê ḫalpî talâš(aš) tuzarrab(ab) . . .

(*Pl. 34.*)

22. Enuma amelu ḳaḳḳad-su iḫammaṭ-ma . . . ḳaḳḳadi-šu i-šaḫ-ḫu-uḫ ana išati ḳaḳḳadi . . . .

23. u šartu nazzitu(tu) tazzazi(zi) $^{\text{šammu}}$. . . . $^{\text{šammu}}$IGI.MA.ḪA $^{\text{šammu}}$UD(?) ešteniš(niš) RAT ina mê tuballal ḳaḳḳad-su te-sir

24. ûmu II$^{\text{kan}}$ ina ḳaḳḳadi-šu i-pit-tim-[ma] ḳaḳḳad-su timissi(si) zir $^{\text{iṣu}}$bi-ni $^{\text{šammu}}$kam-ka-da

25. $^{\text{šammu}}$GAR.MAL.MAL $^{\text{šammu}}$ŠA.PA la . . . ri ešteniš(niš) RAT tuballal ḳaḳḳad-su tapašaš(aš)

26. Šiptu. Šarat zumrišu AL.DUB.BA šarat zumrišu AL.DAN.GA
27. šarat zumrišu AL.KEŠDA.KEŠDA šarat zumrišu GAR.GUB.BA TU EN

28. INIM.INIM.MA šarat ḳaḳḳadi [AL.DUB.BA?] GAR.GUB.BA KEŠDA KAN

29. Ḳiḳiṭṭu-šu ^{abnu}dušî ^{abnu}santi ^{abnu}ukni ^{abnu}. . . . ^{abnu}IGI.ḪA ^{abnu}šubî
30. ^{abnu}šubî imitti ^{abnu}šubî šumeli . . . ^{abnu}musgarri ^{abnu}AŠ-*ditto* ^{abnu}MUḪ.AŠ-*ditto*
31. XIII ni-bi-la-nu-ti ina šipat nabasi tašakak(ak) . . . . -ma šartu nazzitu(tu) ik-kal-la

32. Šiptu. AD.TA BA.RA.AN.GI ZI.BA.AN.[NA] . . . ZI IM BA RA US MI IA AŠ
33. PA AT RI IZ ZA DA KUR.RA ḪE . . . . TU EN

34. Ḳiḳiṭṭu-šu: VII ḫa-ru-bi-e ša iltani teliḳḳi(ḳi) ina išat ur-ba-te tuṣaḫḫar(ar) ina šamni tuballal šiptu VII-šu
35. tamannu(nu) III-šu šarat-su III-šu ta-ḫal-la-ṣi e-nu-ma ta-ḫal-la-ṣu-šu III-šu ana eli ḳaḳḳadi-šu tamannu(nu)

(*Pl. 35.*)

36. Šiptu I.BI.GI I.BI . . . . SAK.KI ṢI SAK.KI ṢI ḪE.EN.LAḪ.GI SAK.KI MA(?) SAK.KI MA(?)
37. ḪE.EN.LAḪ.GI . . . . MA AL.LAL I.DI MU.RA.AN.GIN ḪUL.BI ḪUL ḪUL EN

38. Ḳiḳiṭṭu-[šu]: . . . . . ḳaḳḳad KI.SAG.SAL.ḪU ḳaḳḳad NAMṢABU.ṢAR(?). DA.NITA ^{iṣu}UD.ḪI.IN ^{iṣu}gišimmari . .
39. . . . . šipta III-šu ana libbi tamannu(nu) tapašas-su-ma šartu nazzitu(tu) ik-kal-la kirri NITA LU . . .

40. . . . . GI LIL ŠU.GI.E.NE ŠU.GI

41. . . . . [VII ḫa-ru-bi]-e ša iltani teliḳḳi ina išati tuṣaḫḫar(ar) ina šaman ^{iṣu}ŠUR.MAN dami ^{iṣu}erini tuballal tapašas-su-ma išalim(im)

42. . . . . . ḪUL.A GAR IK [erasure]. MA AN.ṢI.IR.TA

43. . . . . ḪA.BA.RI.EŠ MA.NI.IR.RA AN.NI ḪAL.ḪAL.LA.TA LA GU.GIM.MA TIL.LA.KU
44. . . . . . NA(?)AŠ DU RU NA AŠ ḪU RI NA AḪ MU UN DI ḪU NA ḪA AT.TU.UK TU EN

45. [INIM. INIM.MA] SIG. KEŠDA. KAN

Ll. 46, 47 obliterated

48. Enuma amelu šarat TE ^{pl}-šu MA.GAL(?) i-šaḫ-ḫu-uḫ amelu šuâtu ili-šu ^{ilu}ištari-šu itti-šu zi-nu-u

49. Ḳiḳiṭṭu-šu: ana pan ^{kakkabu} MAḪ . . A SAR SAR(?) suluppi ḳimi A .TER tašapak(ak) šaman ḳabli mê dišpi . . tašakan(an)

(*Pl. 36.*)

50. LU.SIGIŠŠE teppuš(uš) šîr imitti šîr ḫinṣa ina eli išati tu-ṭaḫ-ḫa šikari tanaḳḳi(ḳi) GIŠ.MAL GIŠ MULU APIN EŠ KIT LI E

51. ḪU.SI ša ib-ḫu $^{\text{šammu}}$ ŠI.MAN $^{\text{šammu}}$ . . . malaḫi itti šamni tuballal ina pan kakkabi tašakan(an) šiptu an-ni-tu III-šu tamannu(nu)

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52. at-ta kakkabu mu-nam-mir . . . kirib šame(e) ḫa-iṭ kibrâti $^{\text{pl}}$

53. ana-ku pulâni apil pulâni ina muši an-ni-e pani-ka kan-sa-ku di-ni di-in purussa-a-a purus(us)

54. šammi$^{\text{pl}}$ annûti$^{\text{pl}}$ lip-si-su lum-ni šêri UD-ma TE$^{\text{pl}}$-šu ta-kar

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55. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{iṣu}}$MAL $^{\text{iṣu}}$MULU.A. NU $^{\text{šammu}}$ MUḪ.GUL.LA $^{\text{šammu}}$ kur-ka-na-a . . . mašak(?) uniki la pititi ina kišadi-šu tašakan(an)

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56. VI INIM.INIM.MA SIG.KEŠDA.KAN

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57. Enuma amelu ana muḫḫi-šu mê u-[kal] ina ubani-ka rabiti(ti) a-šar mê$^{\text{pl}}$ u-kal-lu tulappat(at) šum-ma šîr giš-šu

58. bi-'-šu . . [gul]-gul-li-šu it-tar-du enuma(ma) gul-gul-la-šu te-sir bu'šanu ša gul-gul-li-šu

59. . . . . timissi(si) šamni tasalaḫ ana muḫ marṣi tašakan(an) tušešib uṣurat KU paḫari ina *ditto* giš(?) muḫ marṣi

60. . . . . KU.LAGAR.A timissi(si) šamni tasalaḫ ana muḫ marṣi tašakan(an) ku na al ti ip ti

61. . . . . . [ûmu] III(?)$^{\text{kan}}$ taṣamid tapaṭar-ma KU.LAGAR.A timissi(si) šamni tasalaḫ ana muḫ marṣi tašakan(an)

62. . . . . kasi ešši teliḳḳi(ḳi) ḳimi lapti tuballal ana muḫ marṣi MAR ûmu I$^{\text{kan}}$taṣamid tapaṭṭar-ma

63. . . . . . -li lil-ḳi ḳimi ḫašli tuballal ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid pan marṣi tu-gal-lab adi ibaluṭ(?) LAL

64. . . . -bat-ma šum-ma šîr giš-šu-šu bi-'-šat ana li-bit ḳaḳḳadi-šu išat abni$^{\text{pl}}$ tašakan(an)

(*Pl. 37*)

65. Šiptu. Ur-ba-tum ur-ba-tum ur-ba-tum sa-am-tum tiba-am-ma ur-pa-ta sâmta ik-tum IM A.AN sâmu

66. tiba-ma irṣitu(tu) sâmtum(tum) ir-ḫu našû ša mili sâmu tiba-ma nâru šâmtum(tum) im-la $^{\text{amelu}}$ irrišu sâmu

67. $^{\text{iṣu}}$ . . sâma $^{\text{iṣu}}$ IL sâmu iši(ši)-ma mê$^{\text{pl}}$ sâmi$^{\text{pl}}$ li-is-kir $^{\text{iṣu}}$ dalti-ma luḫallip $^{\text{iṣu}}$sikkura mušu sâmu

68. bâbi-šu-nu it-tu liprusu-um-ma ša i-pi-it-ta-ku-nu-ši i-ri-iš ma-ra i-ri-iš ma-ra TU EN

COLUMN IV

(1) . . . . . la ik-kal-lu-u | (2) . . . . . ilammi(mi) ana lib ḫi-pi-e-ti tašakan(an) (3) . . . . -nu VII kiṣri takaṣar e-ma takaṣar (4)

. . . . ibaluṭ | (5) . . . . lum-tu tašakan(an)-ma mê-šu ub-bal | (6) . . . . . ûmu VII$^{\text{kan}}$ taṣamid (7) . . . . -na-am taṣamid | (8) . . . . tašakan(an) | (9) . . . . [$^{\text{abnu}}$mus]garru $^{\text{abnu}}$DAG.GAZ $^{\text{abnu}}$GUG.mar-ḫaši (10) . . . . [$^{\text{abnu}}$]UMUN.PA.UD.DU VIII abni $^{\text{pl}}$ (11) . . . . SAK.KI II-šu tar-kas-ma ibaluṭ | (12) . . . . $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ suadu $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$SAL $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ballukku (13) . . . . nu $^{\text{šammu}}$ba-ri-ra-tu ina *ditto* tuballal | (14) . . . . [$^{\text{iṣu}}$]erini RAT ina su-sur-ri ḳaḳḳad-su taṣamid (15) . . . . . -ru ša ḳaḳḳadi (16) . . . . -ba

(*Pl. 38.*)

(17) . . . . (18) . . . . (19) . . . . (20) . . . tu . . . | (21) . . . . MU.UN.ṢIR (22) . . . . taṣamid-ma ûmu III$^{\text{kan}}$ la tapaṭṭar | (23) . . . . -kal $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ḪAL (24) . . . . [ûmu(?)] ?$^{\text{kan}}$ taṣamid | (25) . . . RIT ina šamni tapašaš taṣamid | (26) . . . . GAL ZI-šu ḳaḳḳad-su (27) . . . ilit urṣi(?) RAT (28) . . . . i-be-li | (29) . . . . ḳaḳḳad-su tapašaš | (30) . . . . IM.TŬ.A GAZ (31) . . . . -ma ûmu III$^{\text{kan}}$ la tapaṭṭar | (32) . . . . bu-da-su (33) . . . . $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ kukri (34) . . . ZI SA.A (35) . . . . talâš(aš) (36) . . . . la tapaṭṭar | (37) . . . . ibaluṭ | (38) . . . . GAZ LIB (39) . . . . -ru (40) . . . .-sar (41) . . . -id |

[*Four or five lines wanting*].

48. . . . . $^{\text{iṣu}}$bînu . . . .

49. . . . . . . kurunni lu ina karani išatti . . . . .

50. [Enuma amelu SAK.]KI.DIB.BA iraššì zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ [ḪUL].GIL

51. [Duppi I]$^{\text{kan}}$ Enuma amelu muḫḫu-šu išata u-kal

TABLET II

K. 2574

Obverse

COLUMN I

(*Pl. 39.*)

1. Enuma amelu SAK.KI.DIB.BA írašši(ši) zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ḪUL.GIL zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ tigilli

2. zir $^{\text{šammu}}$lišan kalbi zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ḪAR.SAG zir ḪAB zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ AŠ zir ḳiš-ša-ni taḫašal [tašaḫal] mal-ma-liš

3. tuballal ina ṭâbâti tar-bak ḳimi lapti ḳimi AŠ.A.AN a-na pani ta-šap-paḫ

4. ina su-sur ḳaḳḳad-su tu-gal-lab taṣamid-ma ibaluṭ

5. Enuma *ditto* kasi $^{\text{šammu}}$ aší $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ḪAL GAB šamaššammi ša . . . kibti

6. [mal]-ma-liš tuballal šikari u-sa damḳa RAT ana libbi tanadi tušabšal šammi an-[nu-ti] tuballal tar-bak taṣamid

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7. . . . . $^{\text{iṣu}}$ŠUR.MAN $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$âsi ḳanî ṭâbi $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ . . BAD $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ballukki

8. . . [$^{\text{riḳḳu}}$]suadu $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$diri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ḪAL A.DAN $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ḪAL. . . . -sur-ra tar-bak ḳimi lapti
9. . . . ta-šap-paḫ ina su-sur [rîši-šu tu-gal]-lab taṣamid -ma ibaluṭ
10. Enuma *ditto* zir kal . . . . kasi zir $^{\text{iṣu}}$LAGAR
11. $^{\text{šammu}}$kurbanni eḳli ešteniš(niš) [taḫašal] . . . . . . [ḳimi lapti] ḳimi AŠ.A.AN
12. a-na pani ta-šap-paḫ . . . . tuzarrab[ab] taṣamid-ma ibaluṭ

13. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{šammu}}$ḫaltappani $^{\text{šammu}}$. . . . . . . [$^{\text{šammu}}$ka]-niš-ti šinni tâmti kibti
14. šikari u-sa damḳa $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$. . . . . . ina šikari tar-bak taṣamid-ma ibaluṭ

15. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$. . . . . $^{\text{šammu}}$ka-niš-ti šinni tâmti . . .
16. kibti ešteniš taḫašal [tašaḫal] . . . . . . ina šikari tar-bak taṣamid-ma [ibaluṭ]

17. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$. . . . . ešteniš(niš) taḫašal tašaḫal kibti šikari u-sa [damḳa?]
18. ina šikari ta-la-aš . . . . ḳaḳḳad-su tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma [ibaluṭ]

(*Pl. 40.*)

19. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ḪAL(?) . . . . zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ašî šinni tâmti $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ballukki ešteniš(niš) [taḫašal]
20. tašaḫal ina šikari tar-bak [ḳaḳḳad]-su tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma ibaluṭ

21. Enuma *ditto* âr $^{\text{iṣu}}$gišimmari ša ina . . . . . i-nam-zu-zu teliḳḳi(ḳi)
22. ina UD.DA piṣâ(a) taḫašal tašaḫal ina mê kasi talâš(aš) taṣamid

23. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{šammu}}$LID.RU.GAR RAT ina šamni tuballal a-kal $^{\text{iṣu}}$a-bu-ka-tu ana libbi tanadi(di)
24. šiptu. a-ra še-ra II BIL $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$burаši zir ki-ib-ša VII-šu u VII-šu ana libbi tamannu SAK.KI-šu taṣamid

25. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{šammu}}$KUR.KUR ni-kib(?)-ta ina išati tu-ḳaṭ-ṭar-šu
26. . . . . . . $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$burаši zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ašî šinni tâmti
27. . . . . ina išati tu-ša-ḫa-an taṣamid-ma

28. . . . . . . UḪ $^{\text{ilu}}$nâri ešteniš(niš) RAT
29. . . . . SAK.KI-šu tuzarrab(ab)

30. . . . . SAK.KI-šu tulappat
31. . . . . ḪI SAK.KI . . talapat . . . .

K. 2611, probably the same tablet.

COLUMN I

2. . . . .
3. ina SAK.KI-šu . . . .

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4. Enuma amelu ZI SAK.KI [iraššì] . . . . . .
5. ḳiṭ-ni-e ḫar-tim ḳimi ḫušli . . . .

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6. Enuma *ditto* âr $^{\text{iṣu}}$šu-nim piṣâ(a) taḫašal tašaḫal ina . . . .
7. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{iṣu}}$karan šelibi $^{\text{šammu}}$su-ba-lam piṣâ(a) taḫašal [tašaḫal] . . . . . .
8. itti ḳimi lapti ina mê kasi [talâš] . . .

(*Pl. 41.*)

9. Enuma amelu ZI SAK.KI iraššì(ši) u sim-ma-tu iraššì âr $^{\text{iṣu}}$. . . . . .
10. ḳit-ni-e $^{\text{šammu}}$ḫaltappani ina šikari MULU.TIN.NA tar-[bak] . . .

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11. âr $^{\text{šammu}}$UR.PI.PI $^{\text{iṣu}}$AN.BAR šinni tâmti $^{\text{šammu}}$ḫaltappani $^{\text{šammu}}$KUR.KUR . . . .
12. gu-ur ḳan šalali ziḳip ḳanî ziḳip ḳan šalali pir'i $^{\text{iṣu}}$balti pir'i $^{\text{iṣu}}$ašagi lipi(?) nêši
13. $^{\text{šammu}}$PAT $^{\text{iṣu}}$ašagi ša ina eli kimaḫḫi izzizu(zu) ešteniš RAT ina šamni tapašaš

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14. zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ḳuṭri šikari u-sa damḳa ina elit urṣi RAT ina šikari MULU.TIN.NA tar-bak taṣamid

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15. Enuma amelu ZI SAK.KI iraššì-ma ḳatâ$^{\text{II}}$-šu šepâ$^{\text{II}}$-šu i-sam-ma-ma DI $^{\text{iṣu}}$ḫuluppi $^{\text{rikku}}$IM.MAN.DI
16. $^{\text{šammu}}$SU.AN.TAR ḳimi ŠE.SIS ḳimi ḫušli $^{\text{šammu}}$ḫaltappani $^{\text{iṣu}}$karan šelibi ešteniš(niš) taḫašal tašaḫal ina šur-šum-mi šikari tar-bak taṣamid-ma ibaluṭ

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17. âr ḳan šalali $^{\text{rikku}}$burаši $^{\text{šammu}}$SU.AN.TAR $^{\text{šammu}}$AG.UT $^{\text{šammu}}$DIL.BAT ḳimi TIG.DU
18. ešteniš(niš) taḫašal tašaḫal ina šur-šum-mi kurunni tar-bak taṣamid-ma ibaluṭ(uṭ)

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19. Enuma amelu SAK.KI-šu ikkala-šu ina si-pa-ri I-šu II-šu III-šu ta-šum- . . . . BAR(?) ni-kib-tu ina šamni tapašas-su

K. 2574

COLUMN II

1. KU.NIK.IB.ŠU.LAL $^{\text{abnu}}$mu-ṣa . . NIM DAN BI NI ina kišadi-šu tašakan-(an) KU.KU $^{\text{abnu}}$SAK.KI KU.KU $^{\text{abnu}}$ḫulali ina šamni tapašas-su

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2. Enuma ZI SAK.KI nu-uḫ-ḫi GAB šamaššammi dami$^{\text{pl}}$ $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$diri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ḪAL kasi ta-pa-as
3. šikari u-sa damḳa ḳimi ḫašli ina šikari tušabšal tar-bak taṣamid

4. Enuma ZI SAK.KI nu-uḫ-ḫi GAB šamaššammi $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ḪAL ešteniš(niš) taḫašal AL u-sa ḳimi ḫašli

(*Pl. 42.*)

5. ina šikari ešteniš(niš) tušabšal(šal) ina $^{\text{ṣubatu}}$sur-ri(?) taṣamid-su-ma ibaluṭ

6. Enuma amelu SA SAK.KI-šu imaraṣu $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$burаši $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri mê kimri ṣabiti kibti ešteniš(niš) ina šikari tar-bak taṣamid-ma ibaluṭ(uṭ)

7. kasi tuṣaḫḫar(ar) kibti it-ti-šu tuballal ina šamni u kurunni tar-bak taṣamid-ma ibaluṭ(uṭ)

8. Enuma amelu SA SAK.KI-šu iṣabat-su-ma ikkala-šu X KISAL kibti X KISAL ḳimi ḫašli X KISAL $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kukri
9. X KISAL kasi X KISAL ḳimi ḫušli X KISAL GAB šamaššammi ešteniš tuballal ina šikari ta-la-aš SAK.KI-šu taṣamid

10. a-na . . . .-ša SA.ZUN lapti mê kimri ṣabiti mal-ma-liš tuballal ina kurunni tar-bak taṣamid

11. [Enuma amelu . . . SAK.KI-šu . . .] iṣabat-su-ma ikkal-šu u i-ar-rum
12. . . . . ina šikari išatti
13. . . . . . . i-ar-rum ŠU.BI.GIM.NAM

14. . . . . akala u šikara la i-maḫ-ḫar amelu šuâtu ili-šu iš-kun-šu
15. . . . . . . [ina kimaḫḫi] la-bi-ri te-ḳib-bir-šu mê ina eli taramak

16. . . . . taṣamid(id) šarat uniki la pititi šarat nabasi talammi(mi) takaṣar

17. . . . . . . pa-ri-iš-tu teṭimmi paḳati itti-šu-nu ta-pat-til
18. . . . . $^{\text{abnu}}$uknu $^{\text{abnu}}$KA.MI.UD.DU ina SAK.KI$^{\text{II}}$-šu takaṣar
19 . . . . la tar-ṣa ni-kib-ta RAT ina šamni tuballal tapašas-su

20. [Enuma amelu SAK.KI imitti]-šu iṣabat-su-ma êni imitti-šu dimti u-kal ḳiṭ-ni-e ḳimi lapti
21. . . . . ešteniš(niš) tuballal ina mê kasi tar-bak SAK.KI-šu taṣamid-ma ibaluṭ(uṭ)

22. Enuma amelu SAK.KI šumeli-šu iṣabat-su-ma êni šumeli-šu dimti u-kal ḳiṭ-ni-e $^{\text{šammu}}$ḫaltappani taḫašal tašaḫal

(*Pl. 43.*)

23. ina šikari AL tušabšal tar-bak SAK.KI-šu taṣamid-ma ibaluṭ

24. Enuma amelu SAK.KI$^{\text{II}}$-šu ṣab-ta-šu-ma ênâ$^{\text{II}}$-šu dimti u-kal-la ḳiṭ-ni-e $^{\text{šammu}}$ḫaltappani kasi
25. ḳimi lapti ba-ba-za ḫušli ešteniš(niš) ina $^{\text{karpatu}}$KAN ina mê kasi tar-bak SAK.KI$^{\text{II}}$-šu takaṣar-ma ibaluṭ(uṭ)

26. Enuma amelu SAK.KI imitti-šu iṣabat-su-ma êni imitti-šu dami u-kal kiṭ-ni-e $^{\text{šammu}}$ ḫaltappani gaṣṣi
27. $^{\text{iṣu}}$ašî ḳimi lapti ba-ba-za ḫušli ešteniš(niš) taḫašal tašaḫal ina ṭâbâti tar-bak ŠU.BI.AŠ.A.AN

28. [Enuma] amelu SAK.KI šumeli-šu iṣabat-su-ma êni šumeli-šu dami u-kal . . . . kal ḫi zu in
29. . . . . . . A TAR $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ ballukki ešteniš(niš) taḫašal tašaḫal . . . . . . tar-bak *ditto*

30. . . . . a

K. 2611.

COLUMN II.

. . . .

1. $^{\text{iṣu}}$ŠUR.MAN $^{\text{iṣu}}$ . . . .
2. $^{\text{iṣu}}$ar-gan-nu $^{\text{iṣu}}$ba-ri-ra-tu . . . .
3. rubuṣ alpi mê kimri ṣabiti ešteniš(niš) tašaḫal [taḫašal] $^{\text{ina}}$šikari u-sa [tar-bak] . . . .
4. ana pani ta-šap-paḫ ḳaḳḳad-su tuzarrab(ab) taṣamid-ma $^{\text{šammu}}$ŠI.ŠI $^{\text{šammu}}$ŠI.MAN . . . . . .
5. tanasaḫ(aḫ) $^{\text{abnu}}$SAK.KI ina imitti-šu tarakas-su $^{\text{šammu}}$UB.ZAL.LA LA gulgul amelûti . . . . .
6. ni-kib-tu zir $^{\text{iṣu}}$erî $^{\text{šammu}}$AŠ zir $^{\text{iṣu}}$bi-ni $^{\text{šammu}}$AŠ.PI.PI ešteniš(niš) te-pi-iṣ ina šaman $^{\text{iṣu}}$erini tuballal . . .
7. tapašas-su bal-tu-su-nu ina išati $^{\text{iṣu}}$âšagi tu-ḳat-tar-šu šamni ṭâbi SAK.KI$^{\text{II}}$-šu tapašaš(aš)

8. Enuma amelu SAK.KI imitti-šu ikkal-šu-ma êni imitti-šu nap-ḫat u dimti tanaḳḳi(ḳi) ḳat edimmi-ma ša-ni $^{\text{ilu}}$Ištari
9. ana balaṭi-šu $^{\text{iṣu}}$si-ḫu $^{\text{iṣu}}$ar-ga-nu $^{\text{iṣu}}$ba-ri-ra-tu I šiḳli UḪ $^{\text{ilu}}$nâri $^{\text{šammu}}$ DIL.BAT
10. ḳan šalali ina ḳimi ḫašli tuballal ina šiḳari tar-bak taṣamid: enuma *ditto* šur-šum-mi ši-ik-ki šur-šum-me ṭâbâti dannati
11. šur-šum-mi kurunni suluppi NI.TUK.KI I šiḳli lipi $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$kanakti ina ḫimeti RAT teliḳḳi(ḳi)

K. 2611.

Reverse

COLUMN III.

(*Pl. 44.*)

1. Enuma amelu SAK.KI šumeli-šu ikkal-šu-ma êni šumeli-šu nap-ḫat u dimti tanaḳḳi(ḳi) suluppi NI.TUK.KI.
2. $^{\text{šammu}}$a-ši-i 'ḍami $^{\text{iṣu}}$erini ina šaman $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$GIR RAT ina ḳarabi kakkabi ina še-rim balu pa-tan MAR

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3. Enuma *ditto* gaṣṣu bu-rat-tu ḳimi ḫušli ḳimi TIG.GAL ḳimi TIG.DU ḳimi kasi
4. taḫašal tašaḫal ina mê kasi tar-bak SAK.KI-šu êni-šu taṣamid

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5. Enuma amelu SAK.KI iṣabat-su-ma i-raḳ i-gaṣ-ṣa ênâ$^{\text{II}}$-šu nu-up-pu-ḫa ḳat edimmi-ma
6. GIR.PAD.DU amelûti tuṣaḫḫar(ar) RAT ìna šaman erini tapašas-su-ma ibaluṭ

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7. Enuma amelu SAK.KI iṣabat-su-ma ultu ṣît $^{\text{ilu}}$Šamši adi erib $^{\text{ilu}}$Šamši ikkal-šu ḳât alpi-ma a-ši-pu ki ša i-du-u
8. li-te-ip-pu-uš lipi ma sar te . . . . . . tapašas-su $^{\text{šammu}}$DIL.BAT piṣa (a)
9. taḫašal tašaḫal ina mê kasi tar-bak ḳimi . . . . tuzarrab(ab) taṣamìd-su

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. . . .

K. 2574.

Reverse

COLUMN III

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1. [Enuma amelu] . . . . . zi iḫ šubatu nabasi(?) . . . .
2. . . . . MI ina SAK.KI-šu u kišadi-šu . . . . .

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3. [Enuma amelu] . . . SAK.KI$^{\text{II}}$-šu ikkalâ$^{\text{II}}$-šu $^{\text{abnu}}$ mu-ṣa $^{\text{abnu}}$ AN.BIL . . . .
4. . . . . DIB.BA $^{\text{abnu}}$AN.BAR $^{\text{šammu}}$AŠ VI šammi$^{\text{pl}}$ annûti . . . . [ešteniš](niš) RAT
5. . . . . tuballal-ma SAK.KI$^{\text{II}}$-šu ênâ$^{\text{pl}}$-šu u kišad-su tapašaš-ma ibaluṭ

(*Pl. 45.*)

6. Enuma amelu . . . . edimmu(?) ZI SAK.KI . . -šu KI $^{\text{iṣu}}$erini KI $^{\text{iṣu}}$ŠUR.MAN
7. X šiḳli $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ . . . [X šiḳli] $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$IM.DI X šiḳli $^{\text{iṣu}}$dup-ra-nu X šiḳli $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$SAL
8. X šiḳli $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ . . . . [X šiḳli] $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ṣuttuplali X šiḳli $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$burași X šiḳli $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ kukri

9. X šiḳli ḳanî [ṭâbi ?X šiḳli kasi]X šiḳli $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ḪAB X šiḳli ḪAB ḫušli
10. X šiḳli zir . . . . damḳí X šiḳli ḳiṭ-[ni]-e(?)
11. [X šiḳli]ašî [X šiḳli TIG.GAL]X šiḳli TIG.DU ešteniš(niš) taḫašal tašaḫal
12. . . . . . . -sur ḳimi AŠ.A.AN
13. . . . . SAK.KI$^{\text{II}}$-šu taṣamid-ma ibaluṭ

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14. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ . . . . . . $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$AN.BAR A.DAN $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ḪAL kankalli . . .
15. lipi kalit . . . tašaḫal ina su-sur-ri taṣamid(id)-ma [ibaluṭ]

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16. Enuma *ditto* GAB [šamaššammi] . . . . kibti ḳimi ḫašli ina šur-šumme šikari talâš(aš) . . . .

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17. Enuma amelu SAK.KI . . . . . . $^{\text{šammu}}$UR.PI.PI zir $^{\text{šammu}}$lišan [kalbi]
18. zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ GAR.[MAL.MAL] . . . šu zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ašî zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ . . . . . .
19. KU turti $^{\text{ḪU}}$ . . . . KU sinunti $^{\text{ḪU}}$ akal $^{\text{iṣu}}$bi-ni-ti A.DAN $^{\text{šammu}}$si . . . . . .
20. $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ kukri . . . zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ku-par-rí kasi $^{\text{iṣu}}$ašagi ta-pa-as . . .
21. šammi$^{\text{pl}}$ annûti [ina] URUDU.ŠIN.DU tu-ḳal-lu šammi$^{\text{pl}}$ ša-šu-nu ma-la-a ḳa-lu-u-ti(?)
22. ešteniš(niš) tuballal . . . [ina šur]-šum(?)-mi šikari ta-la-aš tu-gallab šamni tapašaš(aš) VII-šu tarakas-su-ma
23. ina ûmi IV$^{\text{kam}}$ SA SAK.KI-šu ta-ma-ḫaṣ-ma ibaluṭ(uṭ)

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24. Enuma *ditto* zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ . . . $^{\text{šammu}}$PI.PI taḫašal tašaḫal ina mê ta-la-aš taṣamid
25. Enuma *ditto* KU turti[$^{\text{ḪU}}$] . . RAT ina šikari ta-la-aš taṣamid

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(*Pl. 46.*)

26. Enuma amelu SAK.KI.DIB.[BA] irašši ênâ$^{\text{II}}$-šu i-bar-ru-ra šera$^{\text{II}}$-šu i-sam-ma-mu-šu
27. ubarraḳ-šu lib- . . . ḳatâ$^{\text{II}}$-šu u šepâ$^{\text{II}}$-šu u-sam-ma-ma-šu u-zaḳḳa-ta-šu
28. bir-ka-šu an- . . -e ta-ta-na-aḫ amelu šuâtu murṣu balu balaṭi iṣbat-su
29. i-dan-nin-šu . . murṣi-šu la arku HI.ḲA ša šikari URUDU.SIN.DU sâmi
30. $^{\text{iṣu}}$bi-nu $^{\text{šammu}}$ . . . . hašḫur abi $^{\text{šammu}}$PI.PI zir $^{\text{iṣu}}$šunî ana libbi tanadi tušabšal
31. . . . . IB GIBIŠ-šu-ma uḫuli ḳarnani(?)$^{\text{pl}}$ ḳadut GAR.RIN.NA . . si ir . . .

K. 2611

COLUMN IV

1. $^{\text{šammu}}$ŠI.ŠI $^{\text{šammu}}$ŠI.MAN RAT ina dami $^{\text{iṣu}}$erini tuballal tapašaš-ma ibaluṭ

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2. Enuma amelu SAK.KI.DIB.BA irašši $^{\text{šammu}}$ŠI.ŠI $^{\text{šammu}}$ŠI.MAN $^{\text{šammu}}$TAR. . . . ki nu te
3. ḫašḫur abi $^{\text{iṣu}}$ḫaltappani šammi$^{\text{pl}}$ annûti ešteniš(niš) ta-pa-[as] . . . . -ru tu-šab-šal

4. ta-ša-ḫal X šiḳli dišpi $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa šamni ḫal-ṣa ana libbi tanadi ana ku- . . tašapak-ma ibaluṭ

5. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{šammu}}$ŠI.ŠI $^{\text{šammu}}$ŠI.MAN zir $^{\text{iṣu}}$bîni zir $^{\text{šammu}}$TU.LAL
6. ešteniš RAT ina karani SUR ba-lu pa-tan išatti-ma ibaluṭ(uṭ)

7. Enuma *ditto* riḳḳi$^{\text{pl}}$ kalama-šu-nu ina karani SUR u kurunni tu-la-bak tušabšal(šal) ta-ša-ḫal
8. X KISAL dišpi $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳani šamni ḫal-ṣa ana libbi tanadi(di) [taš(?)]-ta-ḫi-ṭa-šu-ma ibaluṭ(uṭ)

9. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{šammu}}$ḫaltappani $^{\text{šammu}}$KUR.KUR uḫuli [ḳarnani] . . . balu pa-tan išatti$^{\text{II}}$-ma ibaluṭ(uṭ)

10. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{šammu}}$ŠI.ŠI $^{\text{šammu}}$ŠI.MAN zir . . . . tušabšal(?)(šal)
11. tašaḫal X KISAL dišpi $\frac{1}{3}$ ḳa . . . . . .

12. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{šammu}}$ŠI.ŠI âr $^{\text{išu}}$šunî . . . . .
(*Pl. 47.*)
13. ešteniš taḫašal tašaḫal . . . .
14. Enuma *ditto* ḫašḫur a-[bi?] . . .

15. Enuma amelu SAK.KI . . . . . (16) $^{\text{abnu}}$AN.BIL . . . . .
17. Enuma *ditto* . . . .
18. . . . .

K. 2574

COLUMN IV

1. . . . . . . (2) . . . . . $^{\text{pl}}$an-nu-[ti] . . . . (3) . . . .SAG $^{\text{ilu}}$Marduk . . . . .

4. [Enuma amelu] SAK.KI. iṣabat-su-ma ênâ$^{\text{II}}$-[šu] . . . .
5. . . . RAT ina . . . .

6. [Enuma amelu]SAK-KI-šu lu ša imitti [lu ša šumeli] . . . . . .
7. . . . . . ri a-pa-a $^{\text{abnu}}$mu-ṣa . . . .

8. [Enuma amelu] SAK.KI$^{\text{pl}}$-šu ZI . . . .
9. . . [ḳiṭ]-ni-e ḪAR$^{\text{pl}}$ . . . .
10. . . . . SU.ṢIR.MI . . . . . .

11. [Enuma] amelu SAK.KI . . . . . [iṣ]-ṣa-nun-du . . . . .
12. . . . . šikaru ṭâbu išattu$^{\text{pl}}$ . . . . . .

(*Pl. 48.*)
13. [Enuma amelu] . . . . . tas-su a ri a ri a nam amelu ta . . .
14. . . . . ina šaman $^{\text{iṣu}}$erini tuballal tapašaš-ma . . . . .

15. [Enuma amelu] . . . . $^{\text{pl}}$-šu ikkalu$^{\text{pl}}$-šu ḳat edimmi-ma $^{\text{iṣu}}$si-ḫu $^{\text{iṣu}}$ar-ga-nu

16. ^{šammu} . . . . . kibti(?) taḫašal tašaḫal ina mê kasi tar-bak taṣamid-su

17. Enuma [amelu] . . . . . [ultu]ṣît ^{ilu}Šamši adi maṣṣarti namari ikkal-šu ur-rak imat
18. Enuma amelu . . . . . ana libbi išasi(si?) ḳat edimmi-ma ša-ni-e ^{ilu}Iš-tar imat
19. Enuma amelu . . . . . GAL ḪAL irši la i-na-aš-ši imat
20. Enuma amelu SAK.[KI] . . . . . GAL išasi(si) SA SAK.KI-SU . . . .

21. An-nu-tum . . . . . SAK.KI.DIB.BA ḪE.EN . . . . . .

22. Šum-ma SAK.KI.DIB.[BA ḳat]edimmi-ma ina zumur ameli il-ta-za-az-ma la ippaṭṭar
23. Duppi II^{kan} [Enuma] amelu muḫḫu-šu išata u-kal
24. Ekal ^{m} Aš-šur-bani-[apli šarru rabû šarru dannu šar ^{mâtu}Aššuri]^{ki} ša ^{ilu}Nabû u ^{ilu}Taš-me-tum uznâ^{II} ra-pa-aš-tu iš-ru-ku-šu (etc.)

TABLET III

K. 2566

Obverse

COLUMN I

(*Pl. 49.*)

1. Šum-ma SAK.KI.DIB.BA ḳat edimmi-ma ina zumur ameli il-ta-za-az-ma la ippaṭṭar
2. ina pani ṣi-in-di u šipti la ipparas(as)

3. KUR.GI.ḪU bu-u-ra ta-da-ba-aḫ dami-šu ur-us-su mu-še-rit-ta-šu
4. lipu-šu u ḳi-il-pa ša pi-sur-ri-šu teliḳḳi(ḳi) ina išati tuṣaḫḫar(ar)
5. ana libbi dami ^{iṣu}erini tuballal-ma šiptu ŠU.SI ḪUL.GAL NAM.MULU.GIŠGAL.LU.GE III-šu tamannu(nu)
6. . . . . ^{pl}-šu u mimma ma-la šum-šu talapat^{pl}-ma i-na a-aḫ SAK.KI.DIB.BA u GABA.ZI

7. [Šiptu. ŠU.SI ḪUL.GAL NAM].MULU.GIŠGAL.LU ti-ri[-iṣ] u-ba-ni a-me-lu-ti lim-nu
8. . . . . GE: e-gir-ru-u lim-nu ša ni-ši
9. . . . . : ar-ra-tu ma-ru-uš-tu ša ili u ^{ilu}Ištari
10. . . . . e-te-iḳ i-te-e ša ilâni^{pl}
11. . . . . ma(?)-ḫar-šu-nu sinnišâti^{pl} i-tal-lu-ki
12. . . . . -šu-nu . . . .

. . . .

COLUMN II

1. kima ma-ḫi . . . .
2. kima mê^{pl} ra-mi-[ku-ti?]
3. ^{amelu}mîtûti^{pl} innamaru . . . . . . [i]-na-aṭ-ṭa-la la . . . .

4. ša ina $^{\text{iṣu}}$kakki iddaku[$^{\text{pl}}$ lu] ina na-me-e innadû$^{\text{pl}}$ iṣbat-su . . . .

5. Enuma amelu ḳat edimmi-ma iṣabat-su-ma ḳat ili u $^{\text{ilu}}$Ištari eli-šu ik-kim . . . . . .
6. NE.ZA.ZA DUB [KU].NIK.IB ŠU.LAL KU šaḫî šarat kalbi ṣalmi(?) . . . .
7. $^{\text{abnu}}$BIR $^{\text{abnu}}$mu-ṣa šaman KUR.RA tuballal ina išati takaṣar(?)-šu . . . .

8. Šiptu $^{\text{ilu}}$IMINA.BI KI . . DA GAN IMINA.BI DINGIR.BABBAR NAM . . . . . .
9. NAM.BA.LUḪ . . . . U.ME.LUḪ NAM.MU.UN.DA . . . . .
10. NAM.MU.UN.DA . . LAL.E: AL.LI.MA.DA . . . .
11. DINGIR.EN.KI LUGAL . . . GE: DINGIR.SILIG.MULU.ŠAR DU NUN.[KI.GA.GE]
12. NAM.MU.UN.DA . . . . RI: ZI AN.NA ḪE.PA ZI [KI.A ḪE.PA]

13. . . . . . . SAK.KI.DIB.BA . . . .

TABLET IV

S. 950

Obverse

(*Pl. 50.*)

1. . . . . . . GAM LIL . . UD.DA . . . .
2. . . . . ina šaman $^{\text{iṣu}}$erini tuballal . . . . .

3. . . . . zir $^{\text{šammu}}$ḫar-ra nu mu šu piṣa(a) RAT III-šu . . . .
4. . . . . ku-zu-u tapašaš . . . .

5. . . . $^{\text{šammu}}$ḫar-ru zir ni piṣâ(a) RAT ina mê tuballal . . .
6. ku-zu-u tapašaš za-ku-ti-šu taṣaraḫ(aḫ) $^{\text{šammu}}$ŠI.ŠI ina šaman $^{\text{iṣu}}$erini tuballal . . .

7. Enuma amelu ḳaḳḳad-su imaraṣu$^{\text{pl}}$ mat-ḳu-ti sâmi . . šaman šaḫî ṭâbti ḳimi ḫašli ina GIR.PAD.DU ša immeri tuṣaḫḫar(ar) . . .
8. tuzarrab(ab?) piššati RAT ina šamni tapašaš . . . . . UŠ ḪUL GIL ŠU(?) A ḲU MAR ḳimi ḫušli . . . .
9. . . . . immeri ešteniš(niš) tuṣaḫḫar(ar) RAT MAR ru- . . . ru $^{\text{abnu}}$ga-bi-i ešteniš(niš) tušabšal RAT ina šamni tapašaš . .
10. . . . . . tapašaš $^{\text{šammu}}$KUR.RA RAT MAR ḳadut šikani ina mê suluppi . . . LAL IṢ pa-ḫi-ši bil-lu ḫimeti
11. . . . . RAT MAR $^{\text{iṣu}}$nu-ur-ma(?)-a RAT MAR rubuṣ ṣeni ina šikari talâš(aš) . . . . . RAT

12. [Enuma amelu] ḳaḳḳad-su imaraṣ matḳu . . ḳaḳḳad-su tuzarrab(ab) ḳiṭ-ni-e RAT X šiḳli A.DAN . . . . $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ . .
13. . . . uḫuli ḳarnani $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ kukri $^{\text{riḳḳu}}$ burași ana lib-bi tanadi(di) ina ṭâbâti tuballal . . . taṣamid-ma ibaluṭ

14. [Enuma *ditto*] ṭâbat a-ma-ni . . . $^{\text{abnu}}$ga-bi-i ešteniš(niš) tu-sa-maḫ . . . . BIL.LA tuballal taṣamid-su-ma ûmu III$^{\text{kan}}$ la tapaṭṭar
15. . . . šinâti(?) eššetu timissi(si) . . SIN dami e-ri-ni tapašaš ûmu V$^{\text{kan}}$ šammi annûti-ma MAR taṣamid-su-ma ibaluṭ

16. Enuma *ditto* BUR.NUN UŠ NUN(?) UŠ ŠA $^{\text{šammu}}$ . . BAR $^{\text{iṣu}}$nurmî aban suluppi lî(?) . . . . $^{\text{šammu}}$KUR.RA
17. $^{\text{šammu}}$NU.LUH.ḪA $^{\text{šammu}}$zi-ba-a ina $^{\text{abnu}}$ur-ṣi RAT . . SIN dami e-ri-ni tapašaš . . . . ibaluṭ

18. Enuma *ditto* . . BIL . . ša alpi ina ṭâbâti DAN.GA talâš(aš) ûmu III$^{\text{kan}}$ . . . .
19. . . . . tašakan(an) $^{\text{šammu}}$ḪAB aban suluppi tuṣaḫḫar(ar) . . . . . RAT

20. [Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{iṣu}}$NU].UR.MA E MI UR TA $^{\text{šammu}}$zi-ba(?)-a(?) . . . . -ma ina išati tu-ša-ḫa-an
21. . . ḳakkad-su timissi(si) takaṣar . . . . tapašaš taṣamid-su-ma ibaluṭ

22. [Enuma] ḳakkad-su imaraṣu$^{\text{pl}}$ . . . .
. . . .

Reverse

1. . . . .
2. . . . .

3. Enuma . . . -si taḫašal tašaḫal . . . . . .
4. Enuma *ditto* $^{\text{abnu}}$ LID.BIL teliḳḳi ḳakkad-su timissi(si) . . . .

5. Enuma amelu ḳabal ḳakkadi-šu uḫammaṭ-su muḫḫu-šu . . . .
6. Duppu IV$^{\text{kan}}$ Enuma amelu muḫḫu-šu išata u-[kal]

TRANSLATIONS

TABLET I

K. 2354

Obverse

COLUMN I

(*Plate 23.*)

1. When a man's brain (as it were) contains fire, (and) myalgia[1] afflicts the temples and smites the eyes (so that) his eyes are affected with dim-

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[1] SA.ZI. Since SA=buanu 'muscle' 'nerve,' and ZI=sanâḳu 'to press,' the group evidently refers to pain in the nerves round the temples.

ness,[2] cloudiness,[3] a disturbed appearance,[4] with the veins bloodshot,[5] shedding tears: pound[6] one-third of a ḳa of siḫlu with a pestle[7] until thou hast strained it; add one-third of a ḳa of SAK.KA.U.KAL[8] thereto (and) knead it in an infusion of cassia, press,[9] bind it on, (as a poultice) and do not take it off for three days.

5. Knead one-third of a ḳa of ḳiṭnî[10] (and) one-third of a ḳa of turnip flour[11] in an infusion of cassia, press, bind it on, and do not take it off for three days.

6. Knead ḳiṭni, ḫartim,[12] kukru, "horned" alkali in beer, and do the same.

7. Mix myrrh, salt of EME.SAL.LIM[13] together (and) bray them in butter (and) [anoint] his eyes [therewith].

8. Knead one-third of a ḳa of siḫlu, one-third of a ḳa of ashes(?) from an oven,[14] ten shekels of . . .[15] as in an infusion of cassia, press, bind it on, and [do not take it off] for three days.

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[2] Birratu, probably connected with bararu//ikkillum, i. e., from the verb ekêlu 'be dark.' *WAI*, V. 28, *g*, *h*, 62. The root occurs on Pl. 27, l. 12, and Pl. 46, l. 26, ênâII-šu ibarrura.

[3] Ipitu; cf. upû, 'cloud' and uppû 'cloudy.'

[4] Išitu; cf. ešû 'to trouble.'

[5] Ḫarṭinnu; cf. خراطين 'small worms,' and for guḳânâ (= ḳuḳânu, Muss-Arnolt, p. 925, 'a disease of the eyes,' with another meaning of 'some animal of lower order,' there being a 'ḳuḳanu of the ground'); cf. the Aram. קוּקָנָא 'a worm.' It is not too speculative, I think, to suppose that the veins of bloodshot eyes were compared to small red worms.

[6] Puṭuṭ, imperative from a word פטט. Cf. Syriac ܦܛܝܛܐ 'marcidus,' 'tenuis.'

[7] abnuḪAR.ḪAR = êr[û], Brünnow, No. 8584. The translation 'pestle' is conjectural.

[8] For another passage containing this group, see Pl. 33, l. 13.

[9] SAR-ab, probably tuzarrab (cf. Pl. 31, l. 63 tu-uz-za-rib). Frank, in his article in *ZA*, XX, p. 431, for SAR-ab(?), Pl. 28, l. 43, would read tukabbab. It is, however, possible that tugallab (36, 63; 39, 4, 9; 45, 22) is the equivalent.

[10] Ḳiṭnî, which Küchler (*Assyr.-Bab. Medizin*, p. 147) compares with the Targumic קיטני, some kind of fruit with husks. Compare also the Arabic قُطْنِيَّة, farinaceous grains such as lentils, etc.

[11] For lapti see Küchler, *ibid.*, *sub voce*.

[12] Ḫart(ṭ, d)im or ḪAR.TIM, doubtful. Cognate possibilties are ܚܪܙܘܡܐ 'zizyphus'(?) and ܚܪܛܘܡܢܐ 'chickpeas,' but neither is probable. It is unlikely that it is the equivalent of ܚܪܕܠܐ 'mustard' (with change of *l* to *m*), as this is probably to be found in šammuḫardinnu (Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 289).

[13] Ṭâbat EME.SAL.LIM 'salt of tongue-sallim,' to be mixed as an ointment, possibly borax.

[14] LA uncertain, but charcoal is a common ingredient in poultices.

[15] ḪI.ḲA AN(?) or ṭâb ḳa-an . . . Cf. Pl. 46, l. 29 ḪI.ḲA ša BI.

10. After these poultices, ten shekels of siḫlu . . . . . he shall add salt (and) wine-water without touching them, in bread, and eat (it): beat up[16] . . . . in sesame wine, and let him drink it . . . . .

Pl. 24.

13. For one day fire . . . .

14. Ten shekels of the BAR. ḪUŠ-fruit . . . . pound up (and) strain; in an infusion of cassia . . [knead] . . .

Ll. 17–41 are so mutilated as to give no connected sense. There are frequent directions to "knead up in an infusion of cassia, press, (and) bind on without removing until three days have passed," with the mention of honey, milk, etc.

COLUMN II

(*Pl. 26.*)

1. Pound up (and) strain cassia (and) billu,[17] knead them up in beer-yeast,[18] press, bind on, and do not take off for three days.

2. Beat(?)[19] the seeds of hound's-tongue[20] (and) its leaves, let the juice thereof ferment in a BUR.ZI-vessel, leaving it until it rises(?) (and) the . . .[21] swells(?),[22] pulp in a NI.IŠ of copper (and) apply.[23]

4. Pulp . . . -plant, ḪU.SI. ša ibḫu,[24] lard, kanaktu, ṣuttuplalu, seeds of the SI.DI.-plant, a tooth (?) of salt, tamarisk, maštakal-seeds, hound's tongue(?), a branch of tamarisk, salt of EME.SAL.LIM, ninu-plant, dark TIN.TIR-plant as much as the swollen[25] eyes will hold . . . , washing

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[16] PA-aṣ. Either we must read tamaḫaṣ(aṣ) 'thou shalt beat up' or pa-as (an imperative from a verb pâsu), similar to tapas (Pl. 41, l. 2) with which the Heb. פחס 'to squeeze together' may be compared.

[17] On billu or pillu, cf. Küchler, p. 140.

[18] Šuršummu, Küchler's suggestion (*ZA*, I, p. 309) 'Hefe, Satz des Weines,' is the most probable. The connection of this root with that of rušumtu 'marsh,' would point to some moist substance, and the instance given by Scheil (*Recueil de Travaux*, XXIII) ina šuršummi eputi (which he translates 'dans un pot à cuire') is probably to be explained as yeast for baking.

[19] Tupaṣa, or perhaps tupaṣaṣašu. The former may perhaps be connected with paṣû 'to be white,' but the text being doubtful, no reliance can be placed on this word. In the second case, we must refer the root to פצץ Hithpo'el 'to be dashed in pieces.'

[20] $^{\text{šammu}}$lišan kalbi 'hound's tongue,' identified with the cynoglosson, narcotic in its effects.

[21] Tuṣaḫḫat(ṭ,d). The word occurs in the phrase ṣaḫit karani (Brünnow, No. 5011), and three times in the Babylonian letter *BM*, No. 65,387 (*Late Babylonian Letters*, No. 38) $^{\text{iṣu}}$karanu ina panatûa ṣaḫit(ṭ,d), etc.

[22] II, 2 of abâlu = 'be full.' See Delitsch, *HWB*, p. 6, under אבל and ablutum.

[23] MAR = šakânu (Brünnow, No. 5820).

[24] According to K. 61, l. 24, it is the name of a plant (Küchler, p. 114).

[25] Kašuti: Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 324, gives kâšu as a synonym for šutabrû.

his eyes in "horned" alkali until the tears are stayed . . . (?)[26] his poultice thou shalt take; after it . . . , without loosing it.[27] Then boil an infusion of šunû[28]-wood, putting it into a KAN.SAR (?)-vessel (and) anoint his head there with when the star approaches in the morning, boil an infusion of šunû-wood, bind the poultice round his head; his head . . . , fasten with a variegated hair (or thread), . . . pour oil on his head; make him remain in a house which has a roof(?); for three days this shalt thou do.

10. [When a man's] head throbs,[29] mix [together] clay, lime, "horned" alkali of IN.DAR, powdered bones, "horned" alkali, rancid oil, and fish oil; fumigate his head with a thorn fire.

(*Pl. 27.*)

12. [When a man's brain(?)] holds fire, and his eyes are dim, containing blood, grind (and) strain one-third of a ḳa of siḫlu, knead it [in an infusion of cassia], compress his head (and) bind it on, and do not remove for three days.

14. [When ditto], knead . . . one-third of a ḳa of ground meal in wine-water, compress his head (and) bind it on, and do not remove for three days.

(*Ll. 15–50 are mutilated but prescribe certain poultices, etc., to be made from milk and other ingredients*).

(*Pl. 30.*)

51. [When ditto], knead . . . in an infusion of cassia, press, (and) [bind on] . . .

52. [When ditto], knead . . . in an infusion of cassia, press (and) [bind on] . .

[When ditto], knead . . . in an infusion of cassia, press (and) [bind on] . . .

[When ditto], knead in yeast of beer, press (and) [bind on] . . .

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[26] Te-ki-tu means 'weakness,' but the transliteration is difficult and the sense is not certain.

[27] La tapaṭṭar-šu has been accidentally omitted from the transliteration.

[28] Šunû, the nearest Semitic word is the Syriac ܫܘܢܝܐ 'vitex agnus castus,' but inasmuch as it is some decoction to be rubbed on, the meaning is probably to be sought in one of the willows. Salicine, made by treating the bark of *Salix alba*, and other species of *Salix* and *Populus*, is especially recommended in acute rheumatism (Squire's *Companion to the British Pharmacopeia*, 15th ed., p. 359).

[29] NE.NE IM. This phrase occurs again in K. 2354, col. ii, l. 61 (Pl. 31), Enuma amelu [ḳaḳḳad]-su NE.NE IM tuzarrab(ab'). It is still doubtful whether NE.NE.IM is a whole word, or whether IM here = ṭiṭṭu 'clay.' On K. 2462 the phrase Enuma amelu NE IM ú ga na . . . is found.

55. [When ditto], thou shalt wash KUR-plant in an infusion of cassia, pound (and) strain one-third of a ḳa of BAR.ḪUŠ . . . , knead in an infusion of cassia, bind on his head and breast . . . . .

57. When [ditto], mix . . . ground meal (and) knead in an infusion of cassia (and) bind on.

58. When [ditto], knead . . . ground [meal] in an infusion of cassia, press (and) bind on, and do not remove for three days.

59. When ditto, mix . . . two ḳa each, (and) knead in an infusion of cassia and beer, and do the same.

60. When ditto, knead . . . supalu[30] in oil of BU.DI(?) and an infusion of cassia, and do the same.

(*Pl. 31.*)

61. When a man's [head] burns, press clay,[31] knead wheaten flour in an infusion of cassia, (and) bind on for fifteen (*v.* five) days.

62. When . . . grind and strain . . . UD.DA.DI.DI,[32] and knead in an infusion of cassia (and) bind on for three days. When . . . . his head (*v.* the middle of his head), press the caper, knead earth in an infusion of cassia, anoint with oil (and) bind on.

64. When [a man's] head . . . , knead ashes from an oven and ground meal in an infusion of cassia (and) bind on his head.

65. When [ditto] . . . , knead white flour and turnip flour in an infusion of cassia (and) bind on.

When ditto, knead ḳiṭnî (and) cypress in an infusion of cassia and bind on.

66. When ditto, grind (and) strain . . . UD.DU, (and) knead it in an infusion of cassia (and) bind on.

67. When [ditto], . . . ṣarbatu-wood[33] thou shalt knead in an infusion of cassia (and) bind on. When ditto . . . , knead the fruit of the BAR.ḪUŠ in an infusion of cassia (and) bind on.

68. [When ditto], bray white . . . (and) knead it in an infusion of cassia (and) bind on. [When ditto], knead MA.APIN.MA.RA-plant in an infusion of cassia (and) bind on.

69. [When ditto], knead . . . -plant in an infusion of cassia (and) bind on.

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[30] See Lŏw, *Pflanzennamen*, 279.

[31] See n. 29.

[32] For another instance of UD.DA.DI.DI, see Küchler, *Assyr.-Bab. Medizin*, p. 107.

[33] On ṣarbatu cf. Küchler, *Assyr.-Bab. Medizin*, p. 127.

K. 2354

Reverse

COLUMN III.

(*Pl. 32.*)

1. When [ditto] . . . in fire(?)of ṣarbatu-wood knead in an infusion of cassia, (and) bind on.

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2. When [ditto] . . . knead kukru in an infusion of cassia, (and) bind on.

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3. When [ditto] . . . mix, knead in an infusion of cassia, (and) bind on.

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4. When [ditto] . . . mix . . . (and) ground meal, knead in an infusion of cassia, (and) bind on.

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5. When [ditto] . . . knead [in an infusion of cassia], (and) bind on When ditto, mix kankallu (and) šellibinu in an infusion of cassia, (and) bind on.

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6. When [ditto] . . . ṣarbatu-wood knead in an infusion of cassia, (and) bind on.

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7. When [ditto] . . . knead in an infusion of cassia, (and) bind on.

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8. When [a man] . . . his head is bent, with pain gripping his temples . . . . compress his head, squeeze(?) (it),[34] and bind on, and do not remove it for three days.

(*Pl. 33.*)

10. When ditto . . . mix together [ten shekels] of powdered ŠUR.MAN-wood, ten shekels of powdered suadu-wood, ten shekels of powdered cypress, ten shekels of powdered kukru, ten shekels of powdered . . . . [ten shekels] of flour of TIG.GAL, ten shekels of flour of TIG.DU, ten shekels (and) six ḳa of dates, ten shekels of siḫlu, ten shekels of sweet usa-beer, ten shekels of ḫušlu[35]-flour; thou shalt knead it in beer; grind and strain white GUR.MA; of SAK.KA.U.KAL therein one-third ḳa take, knead in an infusion of cassia, press (and) bind on, and ditto.

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14. [When] ditto, bray siḫlu, ḫartim, kukru, (and) "horned" alkali together, knead in beer, press, ditto.

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15. [When] ditto, bray together kukru, cypress, NIN.IB, seeds of thyme[36] "sea-tooth," myrrh; knead up in beer, press, ditto.

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[34] Tuḳaṣṣa, see Küchler, p. 4, l. 6.

[35] Küchler (comparing חורשלא), p. 104, says it is "eine mahlbare Getreideart."

[36] Ašî = חָשַׁר and ܚܫܐ (?).

16. [When ditto], bray together kukru, cypress, A.DAN of ḪAL, dates, suet from the kidney of a sheep, (and) press in a susurru,[37] ditto.

17. [When a man's] head . . . . and his body pains him, his head not being appeased, a sprig of MIS.MA.KAN.NA-wood . . .

18. [When ditto] . . . grind, knead together TIG.GAL flour, TIG.DU flour, (and) enninu-flour with yeast of beer, press, ditto.

19. When [ditto], white(?). . . , knead kukru, cypress, (and) ground meal in yeast of beer, press, ditto.

20. [When ditto] . . . . . knead ḫaltappanu-plant, kukru, cypress, (and) ground meal with beer, press, ditto.

21. When ditto, knead the plant . . . . . in snow-water, press, ...

(*Pl. 34.*)

22. When a man's head burns and . . his head is bent, his head [being as if?] on fire, and the standing hair stands up, bray together the plants . . . , IGI.MA.ḪA (and) UD(?), mix them in water, (and) bind his head (therewith); after two days untie (it) from his head, wash his head; bray together tamarisk seeds, the kamkadu-plant, the GAR.MAL.MAL-plant, the ŠA.PA-plant . . . , mix them, (and) anoint his head (therewith).

26. Incantation: The hair of his body breaketh(?), the hair of his body is stiff, the hair of his body riseth, the hair of his body standeth up. Perform the incantation.

28. Prayer for when the hair of the head [breaketh?], standeth up and riseth.

29. Ritual for this: dušû-stone, santu-stone, lapis lazuli, . . . IGI.ḪA-stone, šubû-stone, šubû "of the right," šubû "of the left" . . . . musgarru-stone, AŠ-ditto-stone, MUḪ.AŠ-ditto-stone, 13 nibilanuti (components?) thread on scarlet wool . . . and the hair which is standing on end shall be restrained.

32. Incantation:[38] . . . . Perform the incantation.

34. Ritual for this: Take seven carob-pods from the north and reduce them (to ashes) in a willow-fire, mix them with oil, repeat the incantation seven times, three times his hair three times pluck out; as thou pluckest it out, repeat the incantation three times over his head.

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[37] Susurru occurs four times elsewhere in this series in the passages, Pl. 37, l. 14 ina susurri ḳaḳḳad-su taṣamid, Pl. 39, l. 4 ina susur ḳaḳḳad-su tugallab; l. 9, ditto; Pl. 45, l. 15 ina susurri taṣamid.

[38] The Sumerian is difficult and I cannot make connected sense of it.

(*Pl. 35.*)

36. Incantation:— . . . . . may my(?) temples be clean, may my(?) temples be clean . . . . . resisting(?) its evil; evil, evil. Incantation.

38. Ritual [for this] . . . . [take] . . the head of a KI.SAG.SAL-bird, the head of a locust . . . . UD.ḪI.IN-wood, palm-tree . . . . . . the incantation three times thereon repeat, anoint him and the hair which is standing on end shall be restrained; a lamb . . .

40. . . . . . . ?

41. . . . . [seven] carob-pods from the north reduce in fire; with oil of ŠUR.MAN-wood, the sap of the cedar mix (them, and) anoint him and he shall recover.

42. . . . . [39] Perform the incantation.

45. [Prayer] for when the hair riseth.

(*Ll. 46–47 obliterated.*)

48. When the hair of a man's moustache(?) droops much,[40] the god and goddess of that man are angry with him.

(*Pl. 36.*)

49. Ritual for this: pour . . . . dates (and) A.TER-meal before the star MAḪ; set an offering of oil of . . , honey-water (and) . . . . ; offer a sacrifice; present flesh of the 'right' (and) ḫinṣa-flesh by fire, pouring out a libation of beer . . . mix . . . . (?), ḪU.SI of ibḫu, ŠI.MAN-plant, . . . malaḫi, with oil. Set it before the star (and) recite this incantation three times.

52. "O thou star that givest light . . . amid the heavens, surveying the world, I N., son of N., this night before thee do homage; judge thou my cause, grant thou my decision; let these herbs remove my ill." When dawn rises (?), . . . his moustache(?)[41]

55. When ditto . . . . MAL-wood, MULU.A.NU-wood, MUḪ.GUL.LA-plant kurkanû-plant[42] . . . . put the skin(?) of a virgin kid on his neck.

56. Six prayers for when the hair rises.

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[39] The Sumerian is difficult, and I cannot suggest any translation.

[40] Perhaps read MA.GAL = rabiš.

[41] Taḳar can hardly be connected with עקר 'to root out.'

[42] Kurkanû = ܟܘܪܟܡܐ 'crocus sativus' (see Stuck, *Astralmythen*, I, 5, on the Arabic). The Syriac ܚܡܪܐ ܕܟ' = 'curcuma long.,' saffron. šammu Kurkanû is equated (*WAI*. II, 42 *a*, *b*, 15 and *e*, *f*, 79) with sapalginu, which appears etymologically to be connected with سَفَرْجَل 'quince.'

57. When a man retains water on his skull, thou shalt press the place which contains the water with thy forefinger, (and) if the flesh of his neck (?)[43] is fetid . . . . of his cranium[44] is driven off. When thou bindest up his cranium, the fetidness of his cranium . . . . thou shalt wash, sprinkle with oil, and put on the skull of the sick man; let (him) sit (with) a ring of earthenware dust in ditto (?); of the neck (?) the skull of the sick man (?) . . . .

And wash the bandage, sprinkle with oil (and) place on the skull of the sick man . . . .

. . . . bind on for three (?) days, remove and wash the bandage, sprinkle with oil, (and) place on the skull of the sick man . . . . Take new cassia, mix it with turnip-seed (and) place it on the skull of the sick man; bind on for one day, remove, and . . . . Mix . . . . with ground meal, knead in an infusion of cassia; press (?) the face (eye) of the sick man . . . . if the flesh of his neck (?) is fetid, place "fire of stones" at the base[45] of his head.

(*Pl. 37.*)

65. Incantation:—"O Willow, Willow, dark Willow, come!

And come, dark Cloud, which the dark rain rainstorm hath o'erspread!

And come, dark Earth, which the dark water in spate hath flooded!

And, O dark River-course, which the dark Gardener hath filled, bring the dark . . . (and) the dark . . . , that the gate may shut back the dark waters, and dark night may hide the bolt! (and) that their door may withhold the sign and he that openeth you . . . . [46] Perform the incantation

Col. IV contains the ends of 50 lines, the 50th giving the first line of Tablet II.

TABLET II

K. 2574

Obverse

COLUMN I

(*Pl. 39.*)

1. When a man is afflicted with brow-ache, pound [and strain] the seeds of the ḪUL.GIL, the seeds of the wild cucumber (?), the seeds of the hound's tongue, the seeds of the ḪAR.SAG, the seeds of the ḪAB, the seeds of the AŠ, the seeds of the cucumber (and) mix them together; with wine-water mix them; turnip-flour and corn-flour thou shalt spread on the top

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[43] For a discussion of the meaning of giššu see my article *PSBA*, February, 1908, p. 66.

[44] Gulgullu is most probably the Heb. גֻּלְגֹּלֶת.

[45] Libit, or limit, 'base,' or 'vicinity'?

[46] Or read ša ipittaku la immar 'he that openeth thee shall not see.' I cannot suggest a satisfactory translation for the latter part of the line.

of this; (then) with a susur thou shalt press (?)[47] his head, thou shalt bind and he shall recover.

5. When ditto, thou shalt mix together cassia, thyme, kukru, ḪAL, GAB[48] of sesame . . . , kibtu,[49] mash up sweet usa-beer (and) put it therein; let it simmer, and after mixing these plants together mix them therewith (and) bind on.

7. [When ditto] . . mix ŠUR.MAN-wood, myrtle (?),[50] sweet cane, kukru, . . . , ballukku, . . . suadu, diru, ḪAL, A.DAN of ḪAL . . . , . . . -sur-ra; spread (thereon) turnip-flour [and corn-flour], with a susur thou shalt press (?) [his head], bind and he shall recover.

10. When ditto, [mix] together the seeds of . . . . cassia, the seeds of LAGAR-wood, the field-kurbanu,[51] . . . . (and) spread thereon [turnip-flour] and corn-flour . . . . press (and) bind on, and he shall recover.

13. When ditto, [bray together (and) strain] ḫaltappanu-plant, ... kaništu-plant, "sea-tooth," kibtu, sweet usa-beer, ... with beer mix them, bind on and he shall recover.

15. When ditto, bray together [(and) strain] kukru, ... kaništu-plant, "sea-tooth," . . . . , kibtu . . with beer mix them, bind on and [he shall recover].

17. When ditto, bray together (and) strain kukru, ... ; knead in beer kibtu, and sweet (?) usa-beer; . . . . compress his head, bind on and he shall recover.

(Pl. 40.)

19. When ditto, bray together (and) strain kukru, ḪAL (?) . . , seeds of thyme (?) "sea-tooth," ballukku; with beer mix (them), compress his [head], bind on, and he shall recover.

21. When ditto, take the branch of a date-palm which has stood in . . . . , bray it in white UD.DA (?) (and) strain off; knead it in an infusion of cassia (and) bind on.

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[47] Tugallab can hardly mean 'shave' here, but until the meaning of susurru is known, it is impossible to say definitely. See note 9.

[48] See n. 59.

[49] *Ibid.*, "ob dies nun wirklich aus Getreide gemacht war, oder ob eine nur mehlanliche Masse so bezeichnet wurde kann ich nicht verstellen."

[50] riḳḳu asu, ܐܣܐ 'myrtus.' (Küchler, p. 89, quoting Meissner and Oefele).

[51] ܟܪܒܢܐ ܕܡܝ̈ܐ is the name for the water-lily in Syriac, and the Assyrian 'kurbanu of the field' would rather point to the possible existence of the 'kurbanu of the water' in Assyrian also. Hence kurbanu probably = ܟܪܒܢܐ.

23. When ditto, bray LID.RU.GAR-plant, mix it in oil, put therein bread(?) of abukatu; repeat thereon the incantation (beginning) "Ara šera II BIL cypress, mustard seed"[52] seven and seven times, (and) bind his temples.

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25. When ditto, fumigate him in fire with the KUR.KUR-plant (and) nikibtu (?) . . . . cypress, thyme, "sea-tooth" . . . . heat in fire (and) bind on.

(27–31 mutilated)

K. 2611

Obverse

COLUMN I

(Ll. 1–8 mutilated)

(*Pl. 41.*)

9. When a man is afflicted with brow-ache and hath a pain,[53] bray a branch of . . . . , ḳiṭnî, ḫaltappanu-plant, knead in MULU.TIN.NA-beer[54] . . . .

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11. Bray together a twig of UR.PI.PI-plant, AN.BAR-wood, "sea-tooth," ḫaltappanu-plant, KUR.KUR-plant . . . . 1 GUR of ginger (?), a stalk of cane, a stalk of ginger(?), shoots (?) of the caper, shoots (?) of the thorn, fat (?) of a lion, the PAT-plant, thorn which hath grown on a grave, anoint with oil.

14. Mash up the seeds of the ḳuṭru-plant (and) sweet usa-beer, with elit urṣi stone, mix them with MULU.TIN.NA beer (and) bind on.

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15. When a man is afflicted with brow-ache, and his hands (and) feet ache, bray together DI(?) of ḫuluppu,[55] IM.MAN.DI, the SU.AN.TAR-plant,

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[52] Kibšu, the Syr. ܟܒܫܐ.

[53] Simmatu undoubtedly means 'poison' (see Muss-Arnolt, *sub voce* šimmatu, and cf. Frank *ZA*, XX, pp. 431 ff., comparing simmat aḳrabi 'poison of a scorpion') but by comparison with the root samâmu which is used three times in these texts (isammama, of hands and feet, l. 15; isammamuša, of flesh, Pl. 46, l. 26; and usammamašu of hands and feet, Pl. 46, l. 27) and once in King, *Babylonian Magic*, 53, 11, 'my flesh isammamu,' for which Meissner, *Suppl.* 95, v. suggests "poison." But from Pl. 46, l. 27, where usammamašu is followed by uzaḳḳatašu 'sting' or 'prick him' samâmu evidently has the secondary value of 'ache' or 'pain,' which gives excellent sense in all these passages, and provides a satisfactory explanation for the noun simmatu. Another evidence of the word is 'when a man's left side isammamšu' (K. 8449, which is a prayer (INIM.INIM.MA) for simmatum).

[54] MULU.TIN.NA, Küchler, p. 92 quotes *WAI*, II, 44, 5 *c*, *d* = muttaggišu.

[55] iṣu ḫuluppu; cf. Syriac ܚܠܦܐ 'juncus mariscus,' 'calamus,' or the Arabic خِلَاف 'osier,' 'willow.'

leavened meal, ḫušlu-meal, the ḫaltappanu-plant, the fox-grape, (and) strain (them); mix (them) with beer-yeast, bind on and he will recover.

17. Bray together a stalk of ginger(?), cypress, the SU.AN.TAR-plant, the AG.UT-plant, the DIL.BAT-plant (and) TIG.DU meal, (and) strain (them and) mix them with yeast of sesame-wine, bind on and he will recover.

19. When a man's temples hurt him, with siparu once, twice, or three times thou shalt . . . . , nikibtu, with oil anoint him.

K. 2574

COLUMN II

1. Put a band[56] of muṣa . . . . -stones (and) NIM DAN BI NI on his neck, (and) anoint him with powder[57] of SAK.KI-stone and ḫulalu-stone in oil.

2. When the brow-ache is assuaged, squeeze[58] together GAB[59] of sesame, blood(?), kukru, diru, ḪAL, (and) cassia; let sweet usa-beer (and) ground meal simmer in beer, mix (and) bind on.

(*Pl. 42.*)

4. When the brow-ache is assuaged, bray together (and) strain GAB[59] of sesame, kukru, (and) ḪAL; let usa-beer(?) (and) ground meal simmer together in beer; in a surru(?)-cloth bind it on and he will recover.

6. When the nerves of a man's temples hurt, mix cypress, kukru, gazelle-urine, kibtu together with beer, bind on, and he will recover.

7. Reduce cassia (to ashes, and) mix kibtu with it, mix it with oil and sesame-wine, bind on and he will recover.

8. When the nerves of a man's temples pain him and afflict him, mix together ten kisal of kibtu, ten kisal of ground meal, ten kisal of kukru, ten kisal of cassia, ten kisal of ground meal, ten kisal of GAB of sesame, knead them in beer, (and) bind on his temples.

10. For . . . . the nerves, mix turnip-flour (and) gazelle-urine together, mix with sesame-wine (and) bind on.

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[56] KU.NIK.IB.ŠU.LAL ("verbindung von ŠU.LAL." in Frank's article *ZA*, XX, pp. 431 ff., on K. 2566, Pl. 49). KU.NIK.IB = ulapu; ŠU.LAL = lubbutu (see Brünnow, No. 7236), and since the group ulap lubbutim exists (*WAI*, V, 28, *g*, *ḥ*, 55, 56, Muss-Arnolt, p. 476) we may reasonably consider that KU.NIK.IB.ŠU.LAL = ulap lubbutim.

[57] KU.KU. The translation is a conjecture from the equation KU = ḳimu 'flour.'

[58] See note 16.

[59] GAB šamaššammi; Küchler translates "sesamkuchen." GAB = ḫašâlu ša še'im 'grinding of corn' (Brünnow, No. 4476).

11. [When a man's temples . . . .] pain him and afflict him and he has diarrhoea . . . . let him drink in beer . . . . he has diarrhoea the same.[60]

14. . . . . food nor drink he receiveth not, the god of that man hath attacked him, ... bury it in an old [grave] (and) pour water thereon.

16. . . . . bind; then hair from a virgin kid and red hair put round (and) tie.

17. . . . . let a wise-woman spin; weave a net of them, ... tie on his temples . . . . lapis-lazuli (and) KA.MI.UD.DU-stone . . . . nikibtu, mix in oil, (and) anoint him.

20. [When a man's right temple] pains him and his right eye holds tears, mix together ḳiṭnî, turnip-flour . . . . , mix them with an infusion of cassia, bind his temples (therewith) and he will recover.

(*Pl. 43*).

22. When a man's left temple pains and his left eye holds tears, grind (and) strain ḳiṭnî (and) ḫaltappanu-plant, let them simmer in AL-beer, mix (them therewith), bind his temples (therewith), and he will recover.

24. When a man's temples pain him and both eyes hold tears, mix ḳiṭnî, ḫaltappanu-plant, cassia, turnip-flour, babaza of ḫušlu together in a KAN-vessel in an infusion of cassia, tie it on his temples and he will recover.

26. When a man's right temple pains him and his right eye is bloodshot, pound together (and) strain ḳiṭnî, ḫaltappanu-plant, lime, thyme, turnip-flour, babaza of ḫušlu, mix it with wine-water, the same.

28. When a man's left temple pains him and his left eye is bloodshot, pound together (and) strain . . . . ballukku . . . . mix, ditto.

K. 2611

COLUMN II

. . . .

1. ŠUR.MAN-wood . . . . , argannu-wood, bariratu-wood . . . . , ox-dung, gazelle-urine, bray together (and) [strain], (and) [mix] with usa-beer, ... [and] spread thereon [turnip-flour and corn-flour], pressing his head, and binding on; and ŠI.ŠI-plant, ŠI-MAN-plant . . . . remove, bind SAK.KI-stone on his right side; squeeze(?)[61] together UB.ZAL. LA-plant,

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[60] ŠU.BI.GIM.NAM appears to take the place of ŠU.BI.AŠ.A.AN here.

[61] Tepiṣ, probably the Hebrew אָפַץ 'to press together;' but perhaps to be considered as a by-form of tapas.

dust(?) of a human skull . . . . nikibtu, seeds of the êrû-tamarisk the AŠ-plant, seeds of the bînu-tamarisk, the AŠ.PI.PI-plant together, in cedar-oil mix (them, and) anoint him, (and) fumigate him with their . . . . in a thorn-bush fire (and) anoint his temples with sweet oil.

8. When a man's right temple hurts him and his right eye is swollen[62] and lets tears flow, it is the hand of a ghost and the hatred of a goddess[63] against his life; mix siḫu-wood, arganu-wood, bariratu-wood, one shekel of "river-foam," the DIL.BAT-plant (and) ginger (?) in ground meal, mix with beer (and) bind on: When ditto, bray yeast of šikku, yeast of strong wine, yeast of beer made, from Dilmun-dates, one shekel of lard, and kanaktu (and) take in butter.

K. 2611

Reverse

COLUMN III

(*Pl. 44.*)

1. When a man's left temple hurts him and his left eye is swollen and lets tears flow, bray Dilmun-dates, thyme (and) cedar-gum in oil of GIR; administer before the star rises in the morning before a meal.

3. When ditto, pound (and) strain lime, burattu, ḫušlu-meal, TIG.GAL-flour. TIG.DU-flour, cassia-meal (powder, and) mix them in an infusion of cassia (and) bind his head (and) eye (therewith).

5. When (his) brow pains a man and he vomits[64] and is sick,[65] his eyes being inflamed, it is the hand of a ghost; then reduce (to ashes) human bones (and) bray them; anoint him (with them) in cedar oil and he will recover.

7. When (his) brow pains a man, (continually) hurting him from dawn to sunset, it is the hand of a Bull[66] or a sorcerer; according as he thinks it is, so mayest thou act; lard . . . . anoint him; pound (and) strain white DIL.BAT-plant, mixing it in an infusion of cassia . . . . , press, (and) bind (it) on him.

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[62] Napḫat. The Syriac ܢܦܚ 'to blow' has the meaning 'to swell' in the Ethpa'al. Otherwise we must understand the ordinary meaning of the Assyrian word napâḫu 'to kindle,' 'inflame' to have the medical sense of 'inflame' here.

[63] Šani. Cf. ḳat edimmi-ma ša-ni-e ^{ilu} Iš-tar, Pl. 48, l. 18. It is questionable whether ana balaṭi-šu belongs to the end of this phrase or the beginning of the next.

[64] Iraḳ; the Hebrew רוּק 'to vomit.'

[65] Igaṣṣa; cf. (?) the Syriac ܓܥܐ 'to vomit.' Küchler refers an Assyrian word gišatu to this Syriac root which does not seem plausible.

[66] GUD has the value of alpu and edimmu, and hence we may infer it to mean some kind of ghost.

K. 2574

Reverse

COLUMN III

3. [When a man . . . .] (and) his temples hurt him, the muṣa-stone, AN.BIL-stone, ... DIB.BA-stone, AN.BAR-stone, AŠ-plant; bray these six plants together, (and) mix with . . . . and anoint his temples, eyes, and neck, and he will recover.

(*Pl. 45.*)

6. When a man . . . . a ghost (?), pressure on the temples . . . . , pound together (and) strain earth (?) of cedar, earth (?) of ŠUR.MAN-wood, ten shekels of . . . . , ten shekels of IM.DI, ten shekels of dupranu-wood, ten shekels of SAL, ten shekels of . . . . , ten shekels of ṣuttuplalu, ten shekels of cypress, ten shekels of kukru, ten shekels of [sweet ?] cane, [ten shekels] of cassia, ten shekels of ḪAB, ten shekels of ḪAB of ḫušlu, ten shekels of seeds of . . . . , [ten shekels] of sweet [usa-beer ?], ten shekels of kiṭnî (?), [ten shekels] of thyme(?), [ten shekels of TIG.GAL], ten shekels of TIG.DU . . . . wheat flour . . . . , bind on his temples and he will recover.

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14. When ditto, [thou shalt grind and] strain . . . . AN.BAR, A.DAN of ḪAL, kankallu . . . . suet from the kidney of a sheep. . . . . (and) bind with a susurru and [he will recover].

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16. When ditto, knead GAB of sesame . . . . , ground meal in fermented yeast . . . .

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17. When a man's temples . . . . squeeze together . . . . [seed of the] UR. PI.PI-plant, seed of the hound's tongue, seed of the GAR.MAL.MAL . . . , seed of the thyme(?), seed of the . . . . dung (?) of doves . . . . dung(?) of swallows, corn-bread, A.DAN . . . . , kukru, ... seed of the kuparru-plant, cassia, thorn . . . . Roast these plants in URUDU.SIN.DU copper (?); mix together as many of these plants as roast . . . . , knead in fermented yeast, press (?) anoint with oil; seven times bind on him and on the fourth day hit the muscle of his temple and he shall recover.

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24. When ditto, bray (and) strain the seeds of the . . . . -plant (and) the PI.PI, (and) knead them in water (and) bind on; when ditto, bray doves' dung (?) (and) knead in beer (and) bind on.

(*Pl. 46.*)

26. When a man is afflicted with brow-ache, his eye being dim, his flesh aching (and) throbbing[67] . . . . , his hands and feet paining (and)

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[67] GIR = barâku 'to flash,' and ḫamâṭu 'to burn.' GIR.GIR occurs in a similar text S. 950: "When the middle of a man's head" GIR.GIR-šu.

pricking him, his knees . . . . being weak, that man a sickness without recovery hath seized him; (this) will strengthen him, [making] his sickness short—ḪI.ḲA of beer, dark URUDU.SIN.DU, bînu-tamarisk, the ḫašḫur abi, PI.PI-plant, šunû-seeds place therein; boil . . . . .

K. 2611

COLUMN IV

1. Pound up ŠI.ŠI-plant, ŠI.MAN-plant; mix (them) in cedar-sap, anoint (therewith) . . . . and he shall recover.

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2. When a man is afflicted with brow-ache, ŠI.ŠI-plant, ŠI.MAN-plant, TAR . . . . -plant, ... hašḫur abi, ḫaltappanu-plant; squeeze these plants together, boil . . . . (and) strain; add thereto ten shekels of honey (and) one-third of a ḳa of refined[68] oil, pour (it) on a . . . . and he shall recover.

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5. When ditto, pound up together ŠI.ŠI-plant, ŠI.MAN-plant, the seeds of the tamarisk, the seeds of the TU.LAL-plant;[69] let him drink it in fermented wine without eating, and he shall recover.

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7. When ditto, all kinds of spices thou shalt put (?)[70] in fermented wine and sesame wine, boil (and) strain; ten kisal of honey (and) one-third of a ḳa of refined oil thou shalt put therein and shred(?) it and he shall recover.

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9. When ditto, ḫaltappanu-plant, KUR.KUR-plant, ["horned"] alkali . . . . let him drink without eating and he will recover.

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10. When ditto, ŠI.ŠI-plant, ŠI.MAN-plant, seeds of . . . . thou shalt boil (and) strain; ten kisal of honey (and) one-third of a ḳa of [refined oil thou shalt add] . . . .

(Col. III, ll. 1–18, and Col. IV, ll. 1–14 mutilated.)

COLUMN IV

(*Pl. 48.*)

15. [When a man]'s . . . . pain him, it is the hand of a ghost; siḫu-wood, arganu-wood, ... -plant, ... pound (and) strain, steep in an infusion of cassia (and) bind it on him.

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17. When a man's . . . . [from] sunrise to the morning watch pains him, he will linger (?) (and) die.

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[68] Ḫalṣa = خِلاص 'refined,' of silver, etc. (Küchler, p. 83).

[69] Cf. Küchler, p. 114.

[70] Tulabak = the Aram. לְבַךְ 'to seize'? (Küchler, p. 78).

When a man's . . . . speaks, it is the hand of a ghost or the hatred of a goddess; he will die.

When a man's head . . . . (so that) he cannot lift his bed, he will die.

When a man's head . . . . speaks, his brow-nerves . . . .

21. This (is) . . . . brow-ache . . . .

22. If the temples hurt, it is the [hand] of a ghost and it will attack man's body without being loosed.

Second Tablet of the series, "When a man's brain contains fire."

TABLET III[71]

K. 2566

Obverse

COLUMN I

(*Pl. 49.*)

1. If the temples hurt, it is the hand of a ghost and it will attack[72] the man's body without being loosed, not being hindered[73] by bandage or incantation.

3. Slay a young kurgi-bird, (and) take its blood, its ur'utu(?), its mušerittu,[74] its fat and the skin of its crop[75] and reduce (them to ashes) in fire, mixing therewith cedar-gum and repeating the incantation "Evil finger of man" three times . . . . his . . . . and anything whatever it be, rubbing it also on the side of the brow-ache and breast-pain.

Ll. 7 f. contain fragments of the incantation called "evil finger of man," but this and the reverse are too mutilated to be worth translation. S. 950 on Pl. 50 is also much mutilated.

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[71] K. Frank has published a translation of K. 2566 in *ZA*, XX, 431.

[72] Frank, I think rightly, compares the Syriac ܠܨ Afel, 'molestiam exhibuit.'

[73] Frank ittakas.

[74] Ur'ussu muserittašu. Frank reads tasussumu še(?)rittašu "(sein Blut) abtropfen(?) sein šerittu (sein Fett)," etc. It is just possible that ur'ussu (=ur'ut-su) is connected with the Aram. אוֹרא or Heb. עוֹר 'skin' (Phoen. ערת) but from the form of the word it does not seem likely. If mušerittu is the right reading it may be a III, 1, derivative from √arâdu 'to go down,' some internal organ of the bird.

[75] Frank is right about the meaning of ḳilpa (קלה) although he did not see that pisurru is obviously the Syriac ܦܣܘܪܢ 'ventriculus avium.'

THE VERBAL PREFIXES AND INFIXES IN SUMERIAN

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M. Thureau-Dangin, in *ZA*, XX, 380–404: "Sur les préfixes du verbe sumérien," was the first scholar to indicate the real force of the Sumerian verbal prefixes, which work has been most instructively supplemented by Arno Poebel, *ZA*, XXI, 218–30.

The present writer, following the same lines, now presents a brief study of the more usual verbal prefixes and infixes in Sumerian, which in some respects, notably in the theory of tones herein set forth, differs from, and, in other respects, supplements still farther the work of the above-mentioned scholars.

It seems evident that the consonantal elements, of which not only the verbal prefixes, infixes, and suffixes consist, but which are also seen in the nominal suffixes, have, generally speaking, the following more or less invariable functions. For examples the reader will refer in the glossary given below to the words beginning with the respective consonants.

TABLE OF CONSONANTAL ELEMENTS

B = near object and near demonstrative.
D = partitive; locative; means.
G = (*a*) precative; (*b*) = N͡G = N.
X = precative.
L = (*a*) N; (*b*) = Semitic loan-form la.
M = relative and relating.
N = remote object and dative.
R = (*a*) motion, direction; (*b*) = Z of 2 p.
Š = motion, direction; location.
T = location 'in or out of.'
Z = 2 p.

So far as the vowels are concerned, two principles seem to be involved; viz., (*a*) inherent sense in the vowels: A and U = direction, purpose, means; E and I = finality of action; and (*b*) vowel harmony, where, for example, AB = IB, II, which is not to be con-founded with the inherent sense = finality of action, seen in IB, I. Thus also AN = IN, II, but not IN, I. Such an apparent condition seems to necessitate the theory that Sumerian, or at least Old Sumerian, must have had a tonic system of pronouncing the grammatical elements similar to that seen in modern Yóruba (*MSL*, I, p. xxi.).[1]

The following tabulation may be made of the more usual noun-suffixes:

-MU 'my;' 1 p. only.
-MU = relative suffix for all three persons, differing in tone from -MU (so already *MSL*, I, p. xxi).
-ZU (dial. -ZA) 'thy.'
-BA 'to, with respect to his' (directive; referring to nearer subject or object).
-BI 'his,' referring to nearer subject or object, as in *HT*, 76. 9, like the Swedish *sin*, *sitt*.
-BIR = dative of -BI, with postpositive -R = -RA.
-NA 'to his,' referring to indirect remote subject or object.
-NI 'his,' referring to remote subject or object with idea 'there,' as *HT*, 76, 1.
-GE = genitive particle.
-RA = dative particle 'unto, to.'
-DA = ablative 'by means of, through.'
-TA = locative 'in or out of.'
-ŠU, -ŠI = directive 'unto;' motion toward.

It will be evident that the linguistic character of Sumerian is now demonstrated beyond a doubt, as phenomena so marked as those just described would be unthinkable in an artificial jargon or cryptography. The future task of Sumerologists must now be to endeavor to tabulate every verbal form in the inscriptions with full context, in order to correct or verify the results in the directions indicated by Thureau-Dangin, who has undoubtedly paved the way toward a proper understanding of the Sumerian verb in all its ramifications. It is, of course, clear that the system, as it exists in the Sumerian literature as a whole, has not yet been satisfactorily worked out.

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[1] J. D. Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, Vols. I, II, III. Berlin: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1905–7.

GLOSSARY

A = direction, means = 'I, etc., thither or by means of' + verb root. IV. 23, nr. 3, 13/4: KI-EL-LA-TA A-RA-AN-ŠUB (RU) = (i)-na ašri êlli addiki 'in a pure place I laid it for thee;' '*habe es Dir hingelegt;*' RAN, *q. v.*, = 'it for thee.' *HT*, 123, rev. 1: GUN-MU ŠU-À (ID)-LAL-BI-NE U-KI A-RA-AB-TAG-TAG = bêltum qatâ kasâma aptašilki 'O Lady, my hands are bound; yet do I worship thee' = direction, inclination (also IV. 10, 7*b*). II 16, 46*e*: A-KABAR-KABAR-NE = iṭṭibû 'they attacked' (direction or duration); also II. 39, 63*c*: KABAR-KABAR-RI = ṭibû 'attack.' See also *s. v.* U-, the harmonic equivalent to A-.

AB = BA = continued imperfect action; a common prefix = A + the near object -B. IV. 14, 11*b*: AB-GÀ-GÀ = tašakkan; *ibid.* 15*b*: AB-GÀ-GÀ = tašâma 'thou hast established and dost establish.' See *s. v.* the harmonic equivalent IB-, II.

A-BA = mannu 'who?' occurs *passim* and seems to contain the directive idea A + BA, the near demonstrative. See *s. v.* BA-.

A-BA = precative prefix XA BA, *q. v.* *HT*, 98, 49: A-BA-NI-IN-GUB (DU) = lizziz 'may he stand.'

A-BA = 'in order to' = means, with continued action. V. 62, 39*a*: KALAM (UN) BIR-BIR-RA A-BA-AB-UL-UL = ana puxxur niše šapxâti 'in order to collect the scattered people.' Here A = means.

AL = AN in force; A + L = the remote object -N. For interchange of *l* and *n* see *s. v.* NU-. *HT*, 126, rev. 39: I-DE-ŠÙ (KU) AL-GIM . . . . ina maxri allakma 'I go forward.' Here A probably = direction, and -L (-N) = 'toward it.' V. 52, 44*b*: MA-RA-TA MA-MA-AL, postpositive conjugation = iâti minû iššakna 'what can befall me.' IV. 17, 45*a*: ZA-E AL-GIN (DU)-NU-NA-AŠ = atta ina alâkika 'when thou goest.'

AN = AḶ, the directive prefix + the remote object -N. II. 8, 30*a*: GU-(KA)-ṂU MU-LU-DA AN-DA-AB-DI-E = pii̯a itti amelûti iššananni 'my voice (mouth) competes for me with mankind.' Here again AN seems to have directive force, denoting the action of the stem 'compete,' which applies most closely with the infix -DAB- = 'with them' (DA + near obj. -B), referring pleonastically to amelûti. II. 16, 18*e*: ŠA(U) BIL AN-DA-AB-UŠ-E = u išâtu tušaxxazašu 'and thou shalt cause fire to seize it (or him),' a similar construction. II. 16, 30*b*: DUG(XI)-MU AN-TA-TUM(DU)-TUM-MU = allakâ birkâ 'my knees go down' ('thither' = -TA-, *q. v.*). The harmonic equivalent of AN- is IN-, II, *q. v.*

BA- = the near demonstrative B + the directive vowel A; hence, is the sign of the continued imperfect: 'he had it and still has it' (*ZA*, XX, 402; XXI, 220). BA- is used with verbs indicating 'take' and may also have an imperative, intransitive and reflexive force (*ZA*, XXI, 224). That it can denote an undefined continued action is seen by its use with the infinitive. II. 15, 41*c*: BA-NI-A-TA = ina nasâxi; IV. 12, 15: BA-DUG(XI)-GA-EŠ = ṭâba; IV. 16, 21*b*: BA-NA = nadî, etc.

BAB, I = BA + the near obj. -B. V. 20, 37*c*: BA-AB-TUM = ublam 'do thou bring it' = -B: 'be bringing it.'

-BAB-, II, is the reduplication of the near obj. B. IV. 30, rev. 18: NAM-BA-AB-BI-EN = taqabbi 'thou shalt say' ('it' = BA + -B). It occurs thus very frequently as an infix.

BAN, I = BA + the remote obj. -N. IV. 19, 35*b*: BA-AN-MAR = ittaškan, where the objective -N gives the verb a reflexive force. *HT*, 121, obv. 6: BA-AN-MAR = šupuk 'heap it (-N) up,' with imperative continued action.

BAN, II = BA + the negative -N = NU. IV. 10, 60*a*: À(ID)-E-MU BA-AN-TE-NI = itâtêia ul idxû 'unto my side they approached not.' The combination BA-NU occurs IV. 27, 8*a*: BA-NU-SUG(D)-GA-MU = ul irišu.

-DA-: a locative, partitive, and durative infix; also with sense itti 'with.' IV. 7, 12*a*: BAR-ŠÙ(KU) BA-DA-GUB(DU) = ina axâti ittaziz 'she stood aside;' lit. 'to one side she stood there' = DA. This usage is quite common. IV. 17, 38*a*: ŠA-RA-DA-GUB(DU) = izzazka 'he stands by thee.' The partitive -DA- occurs more frequently in the combination -DAB-, *q. v.* The infix -DA- in the sense itti 'with' is seen IV. 23, 53*a*: ŠÀ(Ù) ZA-E MAX-ME-EN A-BA-GÌ-A-DA-DI = bêlum atta çîrat; mannu išannanka 'O lord, thou art exalted; who can rival thee' = 'compete with thee;' DA = itti 'with.' In Sumerian, the idea 'thee' is not expressed. II. 8, 29*ab*: KA-MU MU-LU-DA AN-DA-AB-DI-E = pii̯a itti amelûti iššananni 'my voice (mouth) vieth with men.' Here -DA- + the near obj. -B simply repeats the -DA of MU-LU-DA 'with men.'

DAB = DA + the near obj. -B. IV. 9, 9*b*: ZA-E-E-NE ÀM-ZU A-BA-MU-UN-ZU-A A-BA-MU-UN-DA-AB-DI-E = kâtu amâtka mannu ilammad; mannu išanan 'thy word who can learn it; who can vie with it?' Here DA + B = 'with it,' repeating amâtka. DAB can also mean 'unto it.' IV. 13, 44*a*: ZU-A-ZU E-DA XE-EN-DA-AB-GÌ-GÌ = mûduka ana mê litîrka 'may thy wise one turn for thee unto the waters,' where the idea of -DA in E-DA is repeated by -DAB- 'unto it (them).' A careful distinction must be made between -DA- and -TA-, *q. v.*

DAN = DA + the remote obj. -N. *HT*, 82, ii. 1*b*: GA-BA-DA-AN-KÙ = lukul 'may I eat out of it;' GA-BA-DA-AN-NAK = luštî 'may I drink out of it.' Here the partitive locative DA is combined with the remote obj. -N. The partitive DA is seen in II. 19, 15, 17*a*: A-A-ZU À(ID) NAM-UR-SAG-GA-ZU = KU(?)-MU(ŠA)-BA XA-DA-AN-BA-E = abaka ana îdi qarradûtika qîšta liqîška 'may thy father give thee the gift unto thy warlike hand.' Here -DAN- seems to be partitive = 'give of it': DA + N.

E- as a prefix denotes final past action and has as its harmonic equivalent I-, *q. v.* See *ZA*, XXI, 219. II. 19, 53*b*: À(ID)-ZI-DA-MU DINGIR XI-UR-MU MU-E-DA-GAL-LA-A = ina inni̯a il XI-UR-MU našâku 'on my right hand I have exalted the god XI-UR-MU. *HT*. 60, col. iv. 13: GI(š)-E-DIB(LU) = çabat 'seize it' (see *s. v.* GIŠ). IV. 28, 11*a*: ZI-DU MU-E-ZU AG(ŠA)-NE-ŠUB(RU) MU-E-ZU = kîna tîdi ragga tîdi 'thou hast known righteousness; thou hast known evil.' IV. 20, nr. 2, obv. 3–4: GIŠ SI-GAR AZAG-AN-NA-GE(KIT) NAM-TA-E-GAL = šigar šamê ellûti taptî 'thou hast opened the threshold of the shining heavens.' Here NAM- is a positive prefix (see *s. v.* NAM-); TA = 'in, within,' and E gives the idea of finality as it does in most cases, whether it appears as a prefix or an infix.

GA, I; precative and conditional prefix; G, being cognate with cohortative X. *HT*, 37, 15 ff.: GA-BA-DA-AN-KÛ = lûkul 'may I eat of it.' II. 16, 42–44*e:* GA-NE-IB-GAR = luškun 'may I do it' = NIB. Also II. 16, 53*a:* GA-GAR = luškun 'may I do (it).' For the conditional force of GA-, see just below *s. v.* GAN-. The harmonic equivalent of GA- is GI(Š)-, *q. v.*

-GA-, II. For the infix -GA- = N̑GA = NA, see *s. v.* ŠIN-.

GAN, I = GA + the remote obj. -N. II. 16, 53–55: GA-GAR MU-DA-AN-KAR GA-AN-DIRIG-GA A-BA MU-RA-AN-SIM = luškun ekkimu luttîrma mannu inamdin 'if I do evil (and) if I increase it, who will pay thee for it;' RAN = 'thee for it.' IV. 21, 24–25*b:* ŠÀ(LIB)-AZAG-BI GA-AN-KU = libbašu êllim lunîx 'let me pacify his pure heart.'

-GAN-, II, seems to be a dialectic form of the infix -NIN- = N̑GAN. Cf. *HT*, 119, obv. 18–19: IN-GA-AN-ZU = iltamad, reflexive; lit. 'he learns it' = GAN = N̑GAN = NAN. See also *s. v.* ŠIN.

GIŠ, I, was probably pronounced GI with elimination of the final š, as II. 16, 43*e:* GI(Š)-EN-GA-AN-KU = lûkul 'may I eat it' = -N and repeated in GAN = NAN. In *ibid.*, 45*e:* GI(Š)-EN-GA-NE-IB-GAR = luškun 'may I do it,' the NIB is the infix 'it' and the GI(Š)-GA is a double precative. GI(Š)-EN = XEN. The same phenomenon seems to appear in GI(Š)-E-DIB(LU) = çabat imper. 'seize it,' where GI(Š)-E = GE = XE, with precative force.

GIŠ, II, plainly stands for IZ = the 2 p. as II. 16, 14*cd;* IZ(GIŠ) GIN-(DU)-NE MU-UN-ẸL-(LU) = tallik taššâ 'thou didst go and remove.' Here IZ = the finalizing vowel I + Z, the element of the 2 p., as seen in ZA-E.

The intercalated GIŠ construed with TUK = GIŠ-TUK 'have ear, hear,' as V. 24, 38*a:* GIŠ-NU-TUK = ul išmê 'he heard not,' must not be confused with GIŠ, I and II.

XA = the cohortative element X, cognate with G, + A. Its harmonic equivalent is XU, *q. v.* II. 19, 15*a:* XA-RA-AN-BA-E = liqîška 'may he give it thee.'

XE = the cohortative element X + the finalizing vowel E 'may he do it definitely and finally.' As a rule, cohortative phrases beginning with XE have this sense. Cf. the common expression XE-PA 'may it or thou be conjured;' *HT*, 88/89, 20: XE-IM-MA-AN-GABA-A = lû tappaṭṭar 'may thou make it free from sin.' IV. 13, 13/14*b:* XE-IM-ME-GAL(IK) = liškunka 'may he do it for thee.' These examples seem to substantiate this idea.

XE-EN = XE + the remote object -N, *passim.*

XI appears in my collections only IV. 20, nr. 2, 1/2: DINGIR BABBAR AN-UR-RA XI-I-NI-BU = ^{il}Šamaš ina išid šamê tappuxamma; in Assyr. 'O Šamaš thou hast shone in the foundations of the heaven,' but XI-I-

NI-BU must be precative with a finalizing I. The correct rendering of the Sumerian would seem to be: 'do thou shine' or 'mayst thou shine.'

XU-, I regard as a by-form of XA with vocalic harmonic change, V. 51, 22*b:* DINGIR EN-KI XU-MU-E-DA-XUL-LA = ^{il}Ea lixdûka 'O Ea may they rejoice for thee,' where the pref. XU- seems to harmonize with the following -MU-. IV. 15, 45*b:* XU-MU-RA-AB-BI = liqbîka 'may he speak it (-B) to thee (-RA-); *ibid.* 47*b:* ŠU-MU-RA-AB-SIM-MU = liddinka 'may he give it thee;' RAB = 'it to thee.'

I-, identical in force with E-, *q. v.* and see *ZA*, XXI, 219; viz., 'he did it and it is done.' IV. 19, 19*a:* DAM-GIM I-GUB (DU) XUL-LA-XUL-LA BI = kîma atta tazzizzu xadû u rišû (the Assyr. rendering is rather free) 'as soon as thou takest thy stand, they (the people) exult and rejoice.' Lit., it should be: 'as soon as thou hast taken thy stand (completed action), they exult exceedingly' (= XULLA twice).

IB-, I, = the finalizing vowel + the near obj. -B, as IV. 22, 54/5*a:* IB-AK = êpuš 'he did it (= -B) and it is done' = E-, in this case. II. 8, 53*c:* IB-ZI-GI-EŠ = issuxû 'they tore away; II. 19, 16*a:* IB-TA-AN-ZI = issuxšu 'he removed it (-N) from there (-TA-).

IB-, II. When, however, the stem was reduplicated, the form with IB- could have a present signification, as IB-GÀ -GÀ = išak(kan), IV. 13, 22*a*. II. 40, 32*g:* IB-GÌ-GÌ = ippal, etc. It is probable that in these cases IB- was used harmonically for AB, *q. v.* = the continued perfect. Here a different tone was no doubt used.

IM- = the vowel of finality I + the relating element M. IV. 6, 45*b:* KI-TA IM-MI-IN-RI = šapliš armêma 'below I placed it (= the thing referred to before = MI + the remote obj. -N); the reference here is to a charm. *HT*, 127, obv. 35: IM-MI-MIR-(RA) = qadûtu amxux 'the vessel I filled it.' II. 16, 16*e:* ER (A-ŠI) IM-MA-AN-ŠEŠ-ŠEŠ = tabakka 'thou wast weeping for it' (= MAN). It seems clear that IM- generally has the same force as MU-; i. e., = the relating past, which it obtains by the relating and relative element -M-.

IN, I, = the finalizing vowel I + the remote obj. -N. IN has practically the same force as E, I-, *q. v.* II. 11, 41*a:* IN-ZU = ilmad 'he learned it' (-N); *passim.* As an infix -IN- appears IV. 24, nr. 3, 22: KUR-RA NE-IN-SI = mâtum taspun 'the land thou hast finally overthrown it' (-N).

IN, II, may also be used for AN-, denoting the continued past action, just as IB-, II, appears for AB-, IV. 5, 33*a:* IN-GÁ-GÁ-MEŠ = išakkanû 'they (continued to) make or do it.'

LA, an unusual negative prefix, evidently a Sem. loan-form. II. 15, 30*a:* LA BA-AN-ŠI-IN-DU = la imgur 'he did not favor.' Also IV. 15, 1, 3, 33*a*.

MA, I, similar in force to MU- = the relating element M + the directive vowel A; often in combination with IM. IV. 25, col. iv. rev. 43: IM-MA-RA-NI-IN-KU = ukannika. V. 50, 9*a:* IM-MA-RA-AB-LAX-GI-EŠ = izzazzûka. See *s. v.* MU, ME-.

MA, II, It is probable that there is also a MA of the 1 p. = MA-E 'I.' See *s. v.* -MAB- II.

MAB = MA, II, + the near obj. -B. IV. 10, 61: NA-AN-MU-UŠ-TUK-MA-AB = šimananni 'do thou hearken to it for me;' MA 'for me' + the near obj. -B 'it.' Also *HT*, 115, rev. 3: ŠA-NE-DU ŠU-TE-MA-AB = liqê unnîni 'accept for me my supplication; MAB = 'it for me.' I am not certain whether MAB may not also be used like MAN-, *q. v.* as a mere impersonal relative infix.

MAN = the relating element M + the remote obj. -N. *HT*, 126, col. ii. 20: XE-IM-MA-AN-GABA-A = lû tappaṭṭar 'thou shalt be freed from it' = MAN. II. 16, 16*e*: ER (A-ŠI) IM-MAN-ŠEŠ-ŠEŠ = tabakka 'thou weepest for it' = MAN. In each case, there is a relative allusion to what has preceded, the MA + N having practically relative force. In a number of passages MAN occurs after IM-.

ME-, equivalent to MA-, MI-, MU-, *q. v.* See *s. v.* UMENI-.

MI-, harmonic equivalent to MA-. II. 8, 64*c*: MI-NI-IN-SE = iddinšu; the relating past MI- = MU- + NIN + root SE = nadânu.

-MIN-, harmonic equivalent of -MAN-. IV. 6, 45 *b*: IM-MI-IN-RI = armêma 'I placed it,' -MIN- referring like -MAN- to something alluded to before. IV. 20, obv. nr. 25: GIŠ-GAL AN-NA-GE (KIT) GAL (IK) IM-MI-IN-TÀK = dalat šamê taptâ 'the door of heaven thou hast opened it' = MIN.

MU- indicates the relating past like MI-, *q. v.* Thus *ZA*, XXI, 224. There can be little doubt as indicated above, that M is the consonant used in pointing back to something mentioned previously, either, as is the case with MU-, in verbal narration, or, as is the case with -MAN-, -MIN-, in indicating a verbal object. I associate this verbal MU- with the suffix of the 1 p. = MA-E 'I;' i. e., where the M refers back to the speaker in direct oration, and I connect it even more closely with the relative MU-suffix discovered and explained by me, *MSL*, I. XXI, § 3. In this latter case, the relative nature of the M is particularly apparent.

MUN, I, = MU + the remote obj. -N. IV. 9, 5*b*: AG-GI-NA AG-SI-DI MU-UN-MA-AL = kittu u mišâri ušabšâ '(thy word) justice and right it has caused them to be.' Here the object supplementary to kittu u mišâri is the -N in MUN.

MUN, II, = the relating MU + the negative element N = NU. IV. 23, 3*c*: BA-RA-MU-UN-GI = la taniamma. This negative MUN was perhaps pronounced on a different tone from that used for MUN, I.

MU-NI-KA = qibišumma = 'tell (it) to him.' Here the MU- contains the idea of relation or resumption and the infix -NI- is the dative 'to him.' See *s. v.* UMENI, UMUNNI.

-NA- infix, either with dative force owing to the directive vowel A, or the remote object; see especially *s. v.* -ŠIN.

-NAB- is apparently a combination of the remote and near objects; i. e., of N and B, and, like its harmonic counterpart NIB-, *q. v.*, apparently indicates the object without specification of its nearness or remoteness. IV. 10, 1*b*: i-dib (LU) mu-un-na-ab-bi = qubê aqabbi 'the saying I say it;' perhaps nab- here = 'it (-b) to him' (-na).

nam-, I, is generally a negative = n of negation + the relating element m. Cf. IV. 10, 3*b*: na-am-mu-un-gaba = ul anaṭal. IV. 13, 26*b*: da-da-a-ta nam-ba-da-ab-lal-e = itti aštûti la attada. Here nam is plainly negative, while dab repeats itti 'with them.'

nam, II, is nót negative, as IV. 20, nr. 2, obv. 3/4: giš si-gar azag-an-na-ge (KIT) nam-ta-e-gal (IK) = šigar šamê ellûti taptî 'thou hast opened the threshold of the shining heavens,' where -ta- indicates the idea within. IV. 16, 39–40*a*: dingir-gal-gal-e-ne-ge (KIT) nam-xa-ba-ra-tar-ru-da = ilâni rabûti lirûrušu 'may the great gods curse him.' In these cases, nam is a combination of the remote demonstrative n + relative m and seems to be a prefix of the same force as ba-. A different tone must have been used for nam, I, and nam, II.

-nan- appears as an infix of the reduplicated remote object, just as bab-, *q. v.*, is the reduplicated near object. nan occurs *passim*. *HT*. 98, 56: dingir Babbar-ra xe-en-na-an-ti = ^{il}Šamaš liballiṭsu 'may Šamaš revive him.' In xen-nan-ti, nan with the hard vowel probably is used for differentiation.

ne-, I, according to *ZA*, XXI, 230, has the same force as e-, *q. v.*, V. 20, nr. 2, 9: dingir Babbar me-lam an-na kur-kur-ra ne-dul = ^{il}Šamaš melamme šamê matâti taktum 'O Šamaš, glory of the heaven, thou hast covered the lands.' IV. 30, 17*b*: gu (KA) ne-de = taššima 'thou hast spoken.' See also just below *s. v.* nên-. The harmonic equivalent is ni-.

ne-, II, has the same force as ba- or mu-, as IV. 10, 5*b*: dim-me-ir-mu ša-lal-sud nigin-ši-ib ša-ne-gub(DU) ne-ra-ab-bi = ilii̯a remnî attanasxur unnîni aqabbi 'unto my merciful god I turn me; I make (it to thee) my supplication.' *AL*,^{3} 136, rev. 5: kur-kur-ra ur-bi ne-ib-si-si-gi àr(UB)-ri-mu = šadê iltêniš asappan; tanadatûa 'mightily the mountains I sweep away; (it is) my glory.' The infix -ne- was usually the dative plural.

These two variant forces of ne- no doubt required different tones. Etymologically the pref. ne- seems to be identical with the pronoun ne = annû 'this one,' IV. 25, *c*. iii. 54/5.

nên- as a prefix is quite common. IV. 24, nr. 3, 12/3: xu-lux-xa mu-lu kur-ra ne-in-ri = puluxtaka gallittum mâta u niši tarmê 'with thy terrible fear thou hast overwhelmed land and folk.' Here the literal translation from the Sumerian would be: 'terrible fear land and people it (= ne) has overwhelmed them' (-n), where the remote object is indicated by -n.

-nešin- is apparently a combination of ne + šin, the š element indicating here the remotest object (see *s. v.* šin-). IV. 5, 62*a*: an-da nam-en-na

KIŠ AN-NA-GE(KIT) MU-UN-NE-ŠI-IN-XAL-XAL-LA = itti Anim bêlût kiššât šamê izûzsunûti 'by means of Anu, the power of the host of heaven he has divided them' = NEŠIN = 'those things yonder;' 'those there,' referring to 'host of heaven.'

NI- = harmonic equivalent of NE-, 'he did it and it is done.' Note that NI in combination with UMENI is clearly an objective prefix = the remote demonstrative N + finalizing vowel I. The infix -IN- is a frequent direct definite object. In old Sumerian = 'therein' (*ZA*, XXI, 233).

NI-, moreover occurs with the imperative. IV. 13, 56*a:* U-EL NI-KÙ-E = akâlu êllu akul 'pure food do thou eat it up,' where NI seems to indicate finality or completeness of action. IV. 22, 3*b:* TUR-MU A-NA NU-NI-ZU = mâri minâ la tîdi 'my son what hast thou not known: See *s. v.* XI- for another example of finalizing I- vowel.

-NIB-, like its harmonic equivalent -NAB-, *q. v.*, is a combination of the remote and near object and indicates the object without specification. It may sometimes mean 'it (-B) to him' (-NI). It occurs generally associated with the soft vowels: as IV. 17, 45*a:* BA-NI-IB-SI-DI-E = tuštêšir; IV. 22, nr. 2, 8: SI-NU-MU-NI-IB-DI-E = ul uštêširšu; IV. 22, 54/5*a:* A-NA IB-AK A-NA-BI NU-UN-ZU A-NA BA-NI-IB-GI-GI = minâ êpuš amêlu šuatu ul îdi minî ipaššax, etc. IV. 14, 20*a:* BA-NI-IB-KUR-RA = lûšêšib. Here the -NIB-, instead of -NAB- was probably used for differentiation.

-NIN-, like its harmonic equivalent -NAN-, *q. v.*, is a reduplicated infix of the remote object and occurs *passim* usually with the soft vowels. V. 50, 47*a:* BA-NI-IN-SI = inaruš; IV. 24, nr. 3, 6/7: MI-NI-IN-ŠID = tamnû, etc. NIN, however, also appears, doubtless for differentiation with the harder vowels: IV. 8, 26*b:* BA-NI-IN-KU = ušêšib.

NU = the usual negative. IV. 7, 22*a:* NU-ZU = ul îdi 'he knoweth not.' Used with -N, IV. 11, 39*a:* NU-UN-TI = ul âšbat, where the second -N seems to be a mere reduplication of the negative. In the same line, we find NU-UL-TI = ul âšibat. See *s. v.* AN and AL. NU is frequently intercalated.

-RA-, I, with verbs denoting direction or continuity, is evidently the same etymological element as RA = DU 'go.' It is very common with verbs of this class and is not to be confused with -RA- = the ZA element of the 2 p 'thee,' *q. v.* just below. Cf. in the bilingual list, *HT*, 64, ii. 13: BA-(RA-)BAL = ibbalkit 'he revolted, fell away from;' *ibid.*, i. 17: BA-RA-Ê = uçi 'he went forth.' *HT*, 98, 42: XA-BA-RA-Ê = liççîma 'may he go forth.' IV. 27, 14*b:* TU-XU AB-LAL-BI-TA BA-RA-AN-DIB(LU)-DIB-BI-NE = summâti ina apâtišina ibarrû 'the doves in their nests they go to catch them.' The infix -RA-, I, can also denote duration, as *HT*, 98, 42: XA-BA-RA-AN-GUB-BA = (ina axâti) lizziz 'may it continue to stand aside.'

-RA-, II, 'for thee, to thee,' a rhotacism for ZA, is also frequent. IV. 25, col. iv, rev. 43: ŠU AZAG-GA-A-NI-TA IM-MA-RA-AN-NI-IN-KA = ina qatâšu ellûti ukannika 'by his shining hands he has established thee.' Thus the Assyrian translation, but in Sumerian lit.: 'by his shining hand he has established it for thee;' ra = 'for thee.' IV. 17, 17*a:* šà(LIB)-zu ta-ku-gà ud-da ša-ra-da-an-gub(DU) = ana nûx libbika ûmišam izzazki 'for thy heart's peace daily he stands at thy side.' Lit. in Sumerian: 'daily he stands for thee with it' = 'thy heart's peace;' dan = 'with it.'

rab- = ra, rhotacism for za 'thee' + near obj. = -b; 'it, him, her, them for thee.' As a prefix, rare. IV. 7, 26/7/8/9: dingir Marduk a-na nu-ni-zu a-na ra-ab-dax-e = ^{il}Marduk minâ la tîdi minâ lûçipka 'O Marduk what dost thou not know; what can I add to thee' (= 'to thy knowledge')? The use of -rab- as an infix occurs *passim;* as IV. 15, 45*b:* xu-mu-ra-ab-bi = liqbîka 'may he speak it for or to thee,' repeating the obj. amât šuati 'that word.' IV. 18, nr. 2, rev. 8; 9; 25*b:* 27; 42*a:* ga-mu-ra-ab-gu(KA) = lušannî 'may I relate it for thee' = rab, not expressed in the Assyr. rendering. See *s. v.* -rib-.

The ra denoting direction, duration and the ra of the 2 p. were probably uttered on different tones.

-ran-, I, = the ra of motion + the negative -n. *HT*, 90, ii. 71: ba-ra-an-gi-e-ne = â iṭxû 'may they not approach.' IV. 2, 25*a:* ba-ra-an-te-ga-da ba-ra-an-gì-gì-ne = la tedixxi la tunakkar '(against the body of the man, the son of his god) thou shalt not approach hostilely, thou shalt not act hostilely.'

-ran-, II, = the ra of the 2 p. + the remote obj. -n. IV. 30, 8*b:* dingir a-nun-na-ge (KIT)-en-e ka šu-ma-ra-an-gal-li-eš = ^{il}Anunnâki appa ilabbinûka 'the Anunnaki bow down the face unto thee;" ran 'it to thee.'

-ri- seems to be an harmonic variant of -ra-, *q. v.* IV. 22, 10*b:* a šu-ba-e-ri-ti = mê liqêma 'do thou take water for thyself;' -ri- = -zi-, 2 p.

-rib-, harmonic variant of -rab-, *q. v.* = 'it to thee.' V. 51, 24/5*b:* xe-ri-ib-lax-ga = linammirka 'may it shine (or be pure) for thee;' rib = zib.

ša-, like its harmonic equivalents ši and šu, *q. v.*, seems to connote the idea location or direction. It is probably etymologically identical with the postpositive -šù(KU) 'unto,' but sometimes 'at, in.' IV. 17, 17*a:* šà(LIB)-zu ta-ku-gà ud-da ša-ra-da-an-gub(DU) = ana nûx libbika ûmišam izzazki (see *s. v.* -ra-, II). IV. 17, 38*a:* ša-ra-da-gub(DU) = izzazka 'he stands there (= -da) for thee' (= -ra). In both these instances, ša = the locative directive element š + the directive durative vowel a.

ši- = the harmonic equivalent ša, šu, *q. v.*, with similar force. *AL*^{3}, 135, obv. 35: an-na ši-im-gub(DU) = šaqiš allak 'loftily I go (there).' Here ši seems to be the locative directive prefix + im = mu, *q. v.* *HT*, 125, 13: dim-me-ir an-na mu-un-ši-si-si-(gi-eš) = ilâni ša šamê ina taxaza izzaz(ka) 'the gods of the heaven stand by thee in battle.' Here -ŠI- is locative = 'even unto the battle.'

ŠIB = ŠI + the near obj. -B. IV. 10, 5*b*: DIM-ME-IR-MU LIL-LAL-SUD NIGIN-NA-AN-ŠI-IB = ana ili̯a remnî attanasxur 'unto my merciful god I turn myself;' postpositive conjugation. Here ŠIB = 'I there myself' = B near object + NIGIN 'turn' + -NAN 'it,' repeating 'myself;' viz., 'I there myself turn it,' an excellent example of infixed incorporative repetition. *HT*, 115, rev. 3: I-DE ZI BAR-MU-UN-ŠI-IB = kêniš(= ZI) naplisinnima 'look strongly upon me.' Here IDE and BAR are the verb 'direct thy glance' = IDE; MU is probably the relating prefix + the remote object -N, referring to IDE 'glance;' ŠI = 'there' + -B, the nearer object; here = 1 p. 'me.'

ŠIN- = the locative element ŠI + the remote obj. -N. AL^3, 134, obv. 1: AN SUD UD-AG(RAM) BIL-GIM SAR-KI-TA ZA-E ŠI-IN-GA-ME-EN-BIL = nûr šamê ša kîma išâtim ina mâtim napxat attîma 'the light of the heaven which glows like fire in the land art thou' (fem.). Here ŠI- repeats ZA-E 'thou there' + -N 'with respect to it,' repeating ina mâtim; -GA-, infix here, probably for N͡GA = NA, the remoter object repeating the -N in ŠIN; ME EN in this case = 'thou' + BIL (NE) = napâxu 'glow.' In IV. 7, 17*a*: É-A BA-ŠI-IN-TU = ana bîta erumma 'he entered into (-A) the house;' ŠIN 'into it,' repeating ana bîti. IV. 17, 40*a*: EN-E MA-E MU-UN-ŠI-IN-GÌ-EN = bêlum iâti išpuranni 'the lord hath sent me yonder;' ŠIN 'me (-N) there' = ŠI.

ŠU, the harmonic equivalent of ŠA, ŠI-, *q. v.* AL^3, 134, obv. 7/8: ZA-E TAR-ZI-DA ŠU-MI-NI-IB-SAR-SAR = kâši sulê kitti ikarrabki 'as for thee (fem.) he approaches thee in the paths of righteousness.' Here ŠU is plainly directive; MI = the relating prefix MU; NIB = the indeterminate infix, here 'thee;' SAR-SAR = the present tense of karâbu 'approach.'

-TA- = the locative infix, identical with the postpositive -TA. II. 19, 16*a*: IB-TA-AN-ZI = issuxšu 'he removed it (-N) from there' (-TA-). See also *s. v.* UM-. This -TA- must be carefully distinguished from -DA-, *q. v.* -DA- when locative = 'there;' -TA- always means 'therein' or 'from therein.'

U-, the harmonic equivalent of A-, like A-, seems to denote direction, means. *HT*, 127, 41: GUN-GIN ŠAB-ŠAB-BA KA U-BA-NI-IN-(DE) = bêliku ina qabli ašassima 'I am the mighty one; in the battle I shout' = direction: 'I shout thither.' *HT*, 120, rev. 31: U-UM-TAG-GA = alappatma 'I twist, turn' = direction. *HT*, 127, obv. 39: TAK E-GI-ZAG-GA-KA ZAG-SAL U-BA-NI-IN-DUG(KA)-GA = ina igizangê uktanni 'by means of the igizangê I am established,' or 'confirmed' = means. IV. 19, 52*b*: MA-E E-RI-ZA U-GUL-AN-MA-MA = anâku aradki utnênki 'I thy (fem.) servant do worship thee' = direction, inclination.

UM = U- + the relating continuing element -M. V. 50, 1, 3, 5*a*: UM-TA-Ê (UD-DU)-NA-ZU-ŠÙ(KU) = ina açêka 'when thou goest forth;' lit. in

Sumerian: UM = continued action + TA, locative particle 'from there' + Ê (UD-DU) = açû + the phonetic complement -N (ÊN was the older form of the root) + ZU, suffix of the 2 p. + the postposition -ŠŬ(KU) = ina 'in;' 'when,' here.

UMENI-, a directive combination = U-, *q. v.*, + ME, probably the harmonic counterpart of MA-, *q. v.*, + NI, the remote object. V. 22, 12*b:* U-ME-NI-SI = 'thou shalt fulfil it' = NI; *ibid.*, 13*b:* U-ME-NI-RI = ullilma 'purify' (imper.). Perhaps UM- was pronounced ÜM in this connection with a soft vowel Ü.

UMUNNI-, the harmonic equivalent of UMENI-, *q. v.* II. 39, 8*e:* U-MU-UN-NI-KA = qibîšumma 'say it to him;' MUN = 'it to him' + NI 'it' repeated. See *s. v.* MUNI-.

THE ROOT תנן

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The existence of this root in Hebrew is attested by the word אֶתְנַן, "a harlot's hire." Its signification has hitherto been taken to be "he gave," that is to say, a by-form to נתן. This, however, would not be in accordance with the idea expressed by אֶתְנַן. It is not "a gift" in the real sense of the word, but rather "a reward" or "hire," as an equivalent to, or compensation for, something else. It is used almost synonymously with מְחִיר, as in אֶתְנַן זוֹנָה וּמְחִיר כֶּלֶב (Deut. 23:19), although it has usually been restricted to the hire of a harlot.

Of still greater difficulty, however, is וְכָל אֶתְנַנֶּיהָ יִשָּׂרְפוּ בָאֵשׁ (Mic. 1:7). The explanation given by mediaeval commentators, followed by some modern ones, is that אֶתְנַן in this passage refers to the wealth of the nation or to the Temple gifts.[1] This does not satisfy many modern commentators, who naturally fail to see how אֶתְנַן with such a wide and general signification could be well grouped together with פְּסִילִים and עֲצַבִּים, which denote particular objects. Nor is the verb יִשָּׂרְפוּ applicable to אֶתְנַן "hire." Apart from this the continuation of the verse כִּי מֵאֶתְנַן זוֹנָה וגו׳ would then be quite superfluous and would weaken the poetical effect, as אֶתְנַן in itself sufficiently indicates that "she gathered from the hire of a harlot." Wellhausen has recourse to emending the text and reads אֲשֵׁרֶיהָ. He apparently finds support in וְנָתַשְׁתִּי אֲשֵׁירֶיךָ (Mic. 5:12). Nowack leaves the word untranslated, although in his notes he appears to favor Wellhausen's view. No one, however, takes the trouble to account for the fact how such a simple and well-known word as אֲשֵׁרֶיהָ could be corrupted to אֶתְנַנֶּיהָ. Apart from these considerations, the root תנן with such a meaning occurs neither in Arabic nor in any of the cognate languages, and as אֶתְנַן is obviously a very ancient word, it is hardly reasonable to assume that it arose through corruption from נתן by wrong analogy.

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[1] See Kimḥi.

To my mind a root תנן must have existed with the signification of "he resembled, was, or became equal." Indisputable evidence for this assumption is afforded by Arabic تَانَّ (iii conjugation of تَنَّ) "he measured or made a comparison," and تِنٌّ, or تَنِينٌ (augmented form of تِنٌّ[2]) "a like, an equal, a match." It is clear that تَنَّ "he resembled, was, or became equal," must be the ground-form of these words, although it has not been handed down to us.

The root would thus be synonymous with דָּמָה and שָׁוָה, and in order to know fully all the possible significations of תנן it would be necessary to examine in detail all the meanings of these synonyms. דָּמָה[3] usually means "he resembled, was, or became equal," and also "was meet or suitable." The latter meaning is demanded by the context of לְךָ דֻמִיָּה תְהִלָּה (ψ 65:2). Whether we retain the punctuation of 𝔐𝔊 and explain with mediaeval and some modern grammarians that ׳דֻ is put instead of ׳דֹ as in the case of נֻגֵי = נוֹגֵי (Zeph. 3:18), and perhaps מוּעֶדֶת instead of מוֹעֶדֶת (Prov. 25:19), or we actually alter ׳דֻ to ׳דֹ, דֹמִיָּה must be an active participle Qal of דָּמָה, like בּוֹכִיָּה. The meaning would then be "To Thee praise is meet." This rendering is based on LXX *σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος*, and is adopted by several modern commentators.[4] The usual translation is: "To Thee silence, or resignation, is praise," that is to say, no one is able to enumerate God's praises, and therefore silence is the best course to adopt. But this is far-fetched in itself and does not suit the parallel clause וּלְךָ יְשֻׁלַּם נֶדֶר: "And to Thee is the vow to be performed."

In Neo-Hebrew דָּמִים = "value, price, compensation, or equivalent." In Syriac ܕܡܳܐ = "resembled, was like." ܕܽܘܡܝܳܐ = "likeness, resemblance, image, figure." ܕܡܰܝܳܐ = "value, price." Its singular is supposed by Nöldeke[5] to be the above ܕܽܘܡܝܳܐ, just as the plural of ܓܽܘܪܡܳܐ is ܓܰܪ̈ܡܶܐ. The Hebrew דְּמוּת, "image, likeness," which is sometimes used parallel to צֶלֶם[6] is supposed to be borrowed from Aramaic דְּמוּת = Syr. ܕܡܽܘܬܳܐ, "image," "likeness." Arabic دُمْيَةٌ, "effigy," is also a loan-word from the Aramaic.

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[2] See note 8 on p. 369.

[3] דָּמָה: "he ceased, destroyed" is a by-form to דָּמַם and does not concern us here.

[4] See Cheyne, *Critical Notes to Psalms* (1888).

Almost the same is the case with שָׁוָה. Its original signification is "was even, was put on the same level, resembled, was equal." The meaning "was worth, worthy, meet" is required for וְלַמֶּלֶךְ אֵין שֹׁוֶה לְהַנִּיחָם (Est. 3:8) "and to the king it is not worth or meet to leave them," and perhaps also for וְלֹא שָׁוָה לִי (Job 33:27) "and it was not worth to me."

In Neo-Hebrew שְׁוִי, or perhaps better, שָׁוִים (like דָּמִים) = "value, or equivalent, or worth." In Aramaic and Syriac the root has the same meaning. ܫܘܳܐ: "was even, equal, worth, worthy." ܫܽܘܝܽܘܬܳܐ = "equality, agreement." ܫܳܘܶܐ, act. part. = "worthy, worth, meet." In Arabic سَوَى: "was firm, worthy, worth." سَوَآءٌ = "equal, like, similar."

Arabic is still richer with another synonym, which is not found as a verb, but as a noun or adjective only. نِدٌّ, plural أَنْدَادٌ, = "like, similar," and at the same time it also signifies "an idol, an effigy."

Thus we see that one and the same root signifies almost in every case "resemblance, value, price, suitability, image, and effigy." We are therefore justified in assuming that تَنَّ also possessed all these significations. From this root with such a meaning אֶתְנַן "price or hire, paid to a harlot" would be naturally derived, and originally it was synonymous with דָּמִים = ܕܡ̈ܝܳܐ and שָׁוִים, but usage limited its application to a special kind of hire.

This interpretation being adopted אֶתְנַנֶּיהָ in Mic. 1:7 would signify "idols, images, or effigies," which would also be derived from the same root, since the original meaning is "something that is similar or equivalent." Thus we secure the same meaning for the passage as the suggested emendation. כִּי מֵאֶתְנַן וְגוֹ׳ (17*b*) is accordingly a play of words on אֶתְנַן.

---

[5] *Syriac Grammar*, § 72.

[6] Gen. 1:26.

This assumption would also explain another passage in the Bible which apparently does not present any difficulties at all. לֹא לָנוּ יְהוָה לֹא־לָנוּ כִּי־לְשִׁמְךָ תֵּן כָּבוֹד עַל חַסְדְּךָ עַל אֲמִתֶּךָ (ψ 115:1).

The usual rendering is: "Not to us, Yahweh, not to us, but to Thy name give glory, for the sake of Thy loving kindness, Thy truth." To this it may be objected that נָתַן כָּבוֹד as well as יָהַב כָּבוֹד never means anything else than "he respected or honored," literally: "gave honor,"[7] and it would be very harsh and unnatural to apply it to God and say: "Honor not us but Thy name." Apart from this, עַל חַסְדְּךָ עַל אֲמִתֶּךָ is very awkwardly added, and is almost inconsistent. It seems to assign the reason why God should glorify His name and not Israel because He is kind! The jussive תִּתֵּן is perhaps syntactically more suitable than the imperative תֵּן. I should therefore suggest taking תֵּן not as an imperative of נָתַן but as an adjective of תנן, an unaugmented فَعِيلٌ form.[8] It would then be identical in form and signification with Arabic تِنٌّ or تَنِين = "equal," and presumably also "worthy or meet." The meaning of the passage would then at once become clear, and the idea would be admirable. We should then render:

Not to us, Yahweh, not to us,
  But to Thy name is glory meet
Because of Thy loving kindness *and* Thy truth.

The idea would then be that Israel does not wish to take any credit for any achievement, but ascribes everything to God. And this is the spirit of a true Israelite!

It is worthy of note that LXX and Peshittā join this verse to the preceding chapter. The Psalmist, according to this arrangement, first describes the miracles performed in Israel, and then declares that glory is due to God alone.

---

[7] Cf. Jer. 13:16; Prov. 26:8; ψ 29:1.

[8] I have collected a good deal of material to prove that فَعِيلٌ and فَعُولٌ forms of the geminate verb need not always be augmented. I hope to put my arguments in a literary form in a very short time.

A LETTER FROM PROFESSOR CHARLES R. LANMAN

Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 15, 1908

To the Editor of the American Journal of Semitic Languages:

Dear Sir: In response to a joint letter of Professor Francis Brown and fifteen others, addressed to Professor H. V. Hilprecht and dated April 18, 1906, and published in the number for October, 1907, of your Journal, I received from Professor Hilprecht on April 20, 1908, sixteen copies of a book entitled: *The So-called Peters-Hilprecht Controversy.* Herewith is enclosed for publication in the Journal, if you see fit, a copy of the acknowledgment and reply addressed to Professor Hilprecht. It should be noted that Professor Brown and President Gilman are in foreign parts and had no opportunity to give or withhold their signatures.

Yours very sincerely,

Charles R. Lanman

[*Copy*]

Professor H. V. Hilprecht.

Dear Sir: We, the undersigned, being of the number of those whose signatures are affixed to a letter addressed to you on April 18, 1906, expressing the opinion that "a full and frank statement of the facts, as far as they bear upon your activity at Nippur and your publications relating to the same, would be exceedingly desirable," acknowledge the receipt of the volume entitled, *The So-called Peters-Hilprecht Controversy.*

Without attempting to express an opinion on the facts at issue, we deem it best, in the interest of all concerned, that the incident be closed as speedily as possible.

Very truly yours,

Charles R. Lanman,
Charles C. Torrey,
Robert Francis Harper,
James Richard Jewett,
George F. Moore,
Paul Haupt,
A. V. Williams Jackson,
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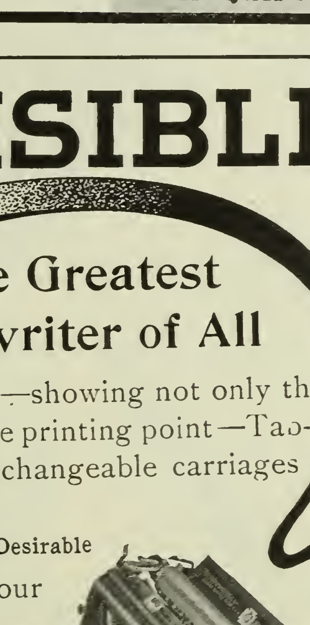

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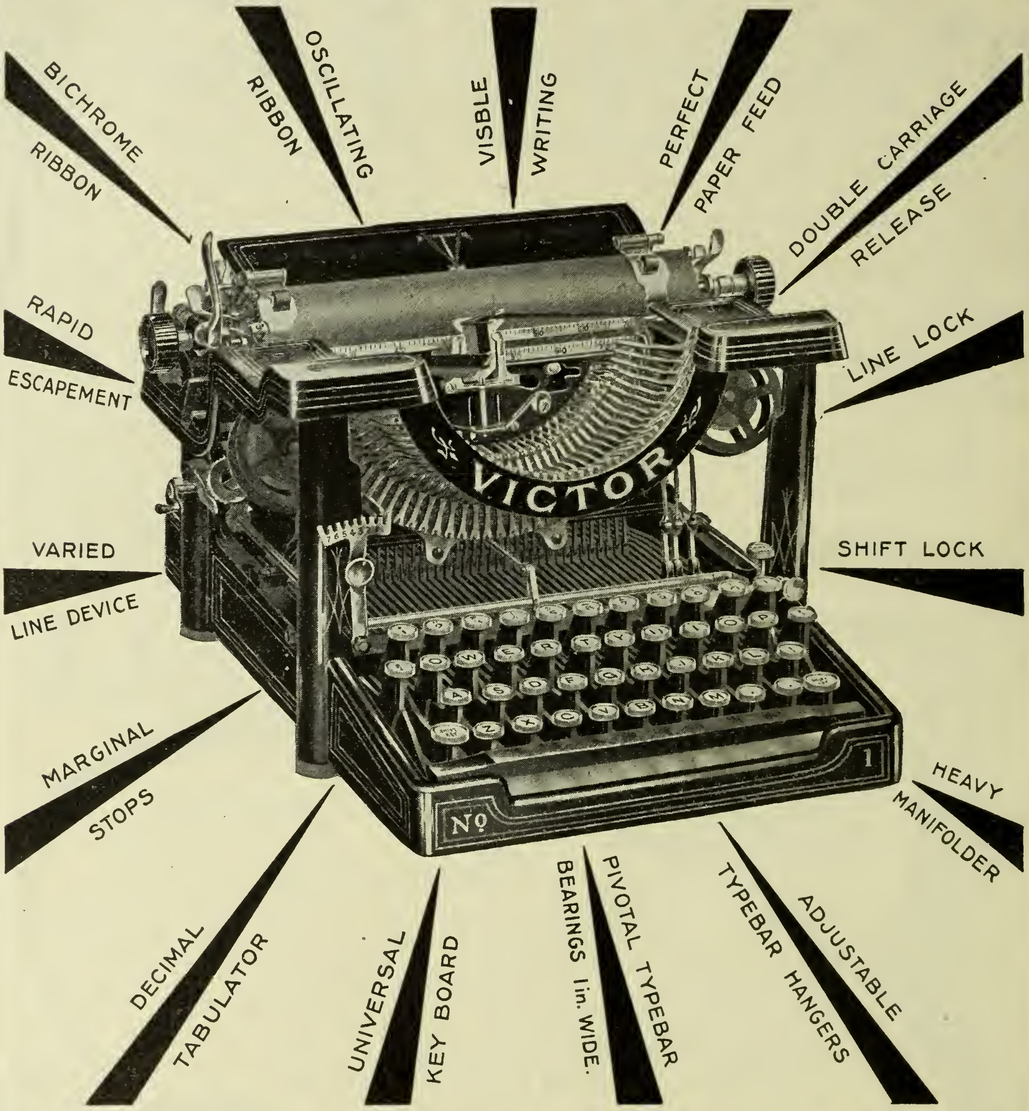

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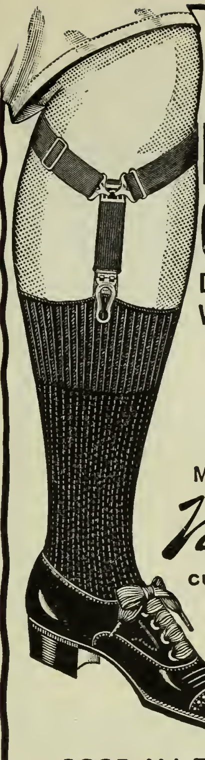

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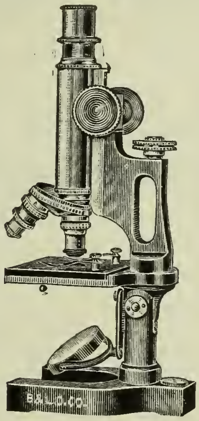

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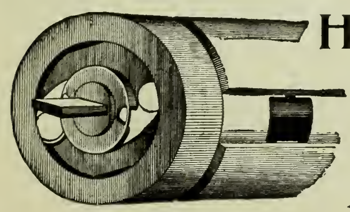

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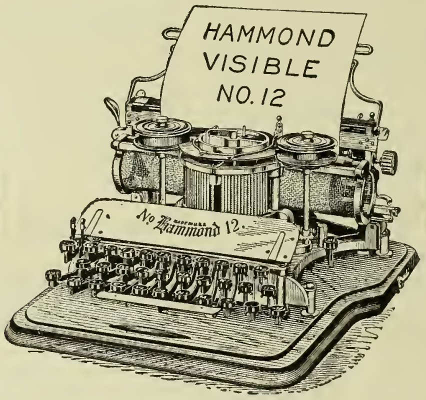

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